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KAREN PARKER TO RAJIV GANDHI

"India's actions. . . uncharacteristically confused and precipitous"

EXCELLENCY 17 October, 1987

At the express request of His Excellency K. K. S. Rana, Consul General of the Republic of India in San Francisco, and in my capacity as a non-governmental representative (Human Rights Advocates and Disabled Peoples' International) at the United Nations, I address you regarding the situation in Sri Lanka.

Although the situation of armed conflict between the Indian Peacekeeping Forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has produced widespread accusations of atrocities and civilian hardships, and although my legal work focuses on the law of armed conflict (the Geneva Conventions and customary humanitarian law), it is not my intention to catalogue the events of the last week other than to say that atrocities have been committed by all involved and will be investigated by concerned people the world over.

This communication is to present issues for consideration so that hostilities can cease forthwith.

I begin by addressing some points of a geopolitical nature. First, I can make no sense out of India's actions: they have appeared uncharacteristically confused and precipitous. The Tamils, and particularly the LTTE, have represented the strongest pro-Indian faction in the whole of the region. It is unreasonable that India would willingly or intentionally discard or betray her traditional friends. *Most importantly, the LTTE are indigenous to Sri Lanka. They answer to no other drum than their peoples' aspirations, safety and honour. Others involved in the tragic event of the last years may not be in that position. Finally, while India must weigh many factors in their foreign policy decisions, LTTE cannot and will not put any interest ahead of their people and cause. Ironically, I have always felt that India's interest in Sri Lanka is closely allied to the LTTE's.*

It is also true that many forces, including several other nations with perceived high interest in the area, might be extremely unhappy with the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement, Annexure and Letters of Understanding of July 29, 1987. I have feared that attempts may be made from outside to derail India and her exemplary foreign policy initiatives in Sri Lanka and elsewhere: South Africa and Namibia, Fiji, humanitarian aid and trade credits to Nicaragua, and the "Cuba motion" at the 1987 session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights immediately come to mind. Given the nature of events, I am convinced that these fears are justified in Sri Lanka. While I have been openly sympathetic to India when retaliatory measures such as arming the Sikh terrorists have been taken, I cannot remain sympathetic when apparent retaliation is answered by slaughter of innocent people in Sri Lanka. In my view, neither the LTTE nor the Tamil people are your enemy.

The first serious mistake made in the present crisis was the attempted transport of the LTTE members to Colombo. Given the years of distrust between the Tamils and the Colombo Government, surely some delay until some practical trust could be built would have been wiser. I urge you to analyse closely how, why and by whom that decision was made, particularly since those detainees had publicly stated that they would not reach Colombo alive.

The tragic and dramatic suicide was followed by atrocities in the Eastern provinces, supposedly explained as being at the hands of the LTTE in retaliation for the

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The Peace Process!

INDIA AND SRI LANKA

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY English political philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, was right when he analysed pre-political society, "the state of nature" as he termed it. Life in "the state of nature", Hobbes wrote, is "nasty, short and brutish". This is exactly as it happens in contemporary Tamil society. Tamil politics was derailed because of the failure of Sinhala political elites to recognise Tamil grievances. Tamil society was forced into "the state of nature" especially with President Jayewardene's decision to ban Tamil political parties advocating a separate Tamil state. His army and his mercenaries made life for the Tamils miserable.

President Jayewardene then proceeded to sign the Accord of 29 July with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The Tamils were not adequately consulted. Nor were the immediate and compelling questions of employment and discrimination, particularly in education, properly addressed. In a word, the prevailing discord in Tamil Eelam can be attributed to the hasty and ill-considered terms of the Gandhi – Jayewardene Pact.

Worse still, we are witness to the attempted cynical manipulation of Mr. Gandhi by President Jayewardene for achieving the ends of the Sinhala Buddhist state. Our historic homelands are being encroached upon by the Sinhala State. The Indian forces are now involved in a war against our freedom fighters. The sad tragedy of Cain killing Abel is being enacted day in day out by rivals among our freedom groups. This would not have happened but for President Jayewardene's disdain of the Tamil political system. The President did not seek a political solution. Instead Gandhi and Jayewardene decided between them what was best for each other's political interests.

In international politics, a state's (for example, Pakistan) enemy's (India) enemy (China) becomes the friend of the state concerned (Pakistan and China are friends in their hostility to India). In the case of Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka's enemy, India, is being used against Sri Lanka's national enemy, the Eelam Tamils. That is indeed a triumph of diplomatic deceit.

But we might pause awhile, before our judgement. What has President Jayewardene done to fulfill his part of the Accord? Nothing! His Prime Minister and his Minister of National Security have publicly declared their disapproval and are biding their time. Tamil has not been made an official language. No meaningful legislation on devolution of power has been presented for consideration. In the interim President Jayewardene issues flattering certificates glorifying Prime Minister Gandhi. This indeed is vintage political strategy by the Grand Old Man of South Asia.

Our verdict therefore is not precipitous. Had President Jayewardene really meant peace, he would have carried out what he promised. That way he might have pre-empted the prevailing fratricidal warfare and the inter-ethnic killings. We are not even certain of who is killing whom.

We cannot depend on reports based on hearsay and rumour. Who knows? Could restive and dissatisfied Sinhala groups be stirring the witches' cauldron? Has Sri Lanka become the hunting ground of R.A.W. analysts, Israeli intelligence and Pakistani advisers?

There are no longer fair and impartial investigations of violent incidents. The island has ceased to have orderly government.

Chaos reigneth supreme!

Whither the Accord?

TRAGEDY HAS FOLLOWED TRAGEDY for the Tamils of Sri Lanka. The brief respite from the killing has ended. The Sinhala marauders have been replaced by Indian oppressors. The killings and civilian losses are going on – even worse than before.

Before the Accord, the Tamil militants fought the Sinhala occupation troops – but with the tacit and moral support of India. Now, they are fighting the more powerful Indian Peacekeeping Force – but cut away from any international source of support.

How did this come about? It is idle to ask the proverbial question: who fired the first shot? We believe the axiom that war is the continuation of politics by other means. That is why,

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looking backwards, we have reason to suspect that when the Indian troops came to Sri Lanka, they came not to keep the peace but to repress the Tamil militants – to complete the job left unfinished by the Sinhala government and army. That is why they were able to change so soon and so easily from pretending to be the saviours of the Tamils to being their oppressors.

How does one explain such quick – change artistry? One can understand this apparent volte-face only in terms of the general objectives of Indian foreign policy. Ever since the British departed from India, the Indian big bourgeoisie has dreamt of stepping into the shoes of the British Raj. It aspired to be the dominant regional power of South Asia. It is in pursuance of this policy that they brought under their hegemony the neighbouring states of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim and that they broke up east Pakistan to create Bangladesh (although the latter has slipped out of its control).

India has had its eyes on Sri Lanka for a long time. J. R. Jayewardene, by failing to solve the Tamil problem internally by discussions with Tamil representatives, gave India the chance it was waiting for – to intervene first politically and, then, militarily.

If India had no military objectives, there was no reason to land an estimated 30,000 troops in Sri Lanka. Even the Sri Lankan army did not number that much. And, they came with heavy armoured tanks. What for? They also set up small camps in villages where there were no Sinhala troops. Even then, their intentions were suspect. Now, it is clear and in the open.

The Indian Army is a powerful military force. To take it on was a courageous decision of the Tigers for which they deserve credit – whatever their other short-comings might be. If the Indian government does not even now realise their folly and stop the wanton repression of the Tamils, they will set in course a train of events which they will not be able to control. Tamil resistance can in the not too distant future merge into a national resistance against the foreign Indian troops.

What is completely unexplainable are the atrocities, the wanton killing of innocents, the shelling of hospitals, bombing from the air – all brutalities committed by the Sinhala army and for which it was condemned by India.

What now of the Accord? Most people welcomed the Accord for one reason. That was that it stopped the killing of the Tamils by the Sinhala army. But that essential condition has been violated by the Indians and Jayewardene threatens not to implement the rest of the agreement.

The fatal flaw of the Accord was that it was basically an agreement between two men, even though heads of their respective governments. The people were not consulted. In particular the Tamil militants were not consulted. They were faced with a fait accompli. In such a situation, the contradictions that gathered momentum could hardly have been avoided.

The opposition to the Accord was not only from the Tamils. The bulk of the Sinhalese also opposed it for two main reasons – the merger of the northern and eastern provinces and the introduction of Indian troops into Sri Lanka. There was a rare conjunction among the Sinhalese, of anti-government, anti-Tamil and anti-Indian sentiments which was seized by the extreme communal and anti-Tamil JVP to rouse chauvinism among the Sinhalese to unheard of heights and which resulted in wanton destruction of public and state property and assassinations of government supporters in the South in the days following the Accord.

We are back to square one. It will require much patience and delicate diplomacy and much courage from the Tamils before Sri Lanka can extricate itself from the present mess.

What an Unnecessary Bloody Mess!

AND FRIENDS WHO CAME to protect began to wage war against those whom they intended to protect. Why? Our Tamil youth had not become politicised. A generation of our youth was lost fighting the marauding and barbaric Sinhala army.

Those who gave up arms as well as those who refused to surrender their weapons continued to persist in their militarised thinking. The siege mentality remained. The futility of engaging the Indian force was not comprehended. Today we are sad witnesses to Beirut – street fighting in Tamil Eelam. And Mr. Gandhi's army has become President Jayewardene's cops on the beat.

Peacekeepers maintain the peace. They do not do the dirty work for the rulers of the oppressed. If attacked, that is hard on the peacekeeping force. But never has a peacekeeping force become the instrument of the oppressors. This is what indeed is happening to the militant youth of Tamil Eelam. That is why *Canada's national* daily, the Toronto-based *Globe and Mail* in one of its leading editorials of 12 October titled India's Policemen, stated:

. . . "India should loosen its grip on Sri Lankan affairs. . . all participants in the civil war should begin to look for less provocative peacekeepers. . . . Little purchase is gained when a peacekeeper becomes a party to the dispute, and India's political and military interest in Sri Lanka brings it dangerously close to that reality."

OF OURSELVES

THE TAMIL TIMES completes six years with this issue: six gruelling years of trials and tribulations not merely for the Tamil community but to all those genuinely and intimately concerned with its aspirations and its struggles. We have also had one added difficulty.

Despite our best endeavours we could seldom make ends meet. Income from subscriptions, as all publishers of journals will testify, is hardly sufficient to keep a publication solvent. For the past two years it has been a struggle to keep the paper alive. We must however plod along until at least the Tamil nation redeems itself. Meanwhile voluntary effort will have to be our mainstay.

Among the few who ungrudgingly geared themselves for unpaid effort, and that for no less than five years now, was our Editor, P. Rajanayagam. He has since resigned. With him the paper found its format and its content gradually improved and elevated to acceptable readership levels while the direction offered in his editorials did not fail to win acclaim. It is going to be difficult to replace him partly because journalism is one of the few professions the Tamil intelligentsia seems to have shunned whether because there was no big money in it or from a desire to be aloof and away from community and national involvement in order to live by and for ourselves. That is a pity.

Tamil Times came into being soon after the barbaric burning of the Jaffna Public Library by the Sri Lankan Security Personnel. The priceless treasures stored in that unique library were burnt to ashes, all 93,000 books and manuscripts.

Since then we have sadly faced many more wanton acts of destruction and death and we have recounted the tales as they reached us through various sources. When the Peace Accord was signed on July 29 we thought, as did the Tamil Information Centre, that our days of useful endeavour were numbered. The T.I.C. has irrevocably closed down its shutters here in London.

We will, however, soldier on but we need more money, more manpower, more news, more views – in short an active reader participation.

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India Must Stop Repression of Tamils

by N. SANMUGATHASAN

THE KALEIDESCOPE OF Sri Lankan history has been changing so fast in the past few weeks, that it is difficult to keep a balanced point of view, even from a distance.

MR. SANMUGATHASAN has been a prominent Trade Union leader in Sri Lanka for the past 40 years.

The Peace Accord

First came the Peace Accord at the end of July when President Jayewardene reversed himself on several important positions which he had hitherto held. The man who was one of three State Councillors who opposed S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's resolution, in the second State Council in 1944, calling for the replacement of English as the official language by both Sinhala and Tamil and instead demanded Sinhala Only; the man who had led the March to Kandy in opposition to the Bandaranaike – Chelvanayagam Pact and was instrumental in getting it abrogated, now signed an agreement to make Tamil and English as official languages along with Sinhala.

The man who was dead opposed to the merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces now signs an agreement for their merger, even though subject to a referendum in 1988.

Peacekeepers become Oppressors

But the most spectacular development was the reversal of the role of the Indian Peacekeeping Force which had been greeted by the Tamils with garlands, hugs and kisses as saviours of the Tamils from Sinhala brutality and their changing into oppressors – even more brutal than the Sinhala army.

It is difficult to find a reason for this base treachery. One can come to terms with an enemy. But it is difficult to deal with a friend who has become an enemy. After all India had pretended to be a supporter of the Tamil cause. It had allowed the Tamil militants to virtually use Tamil Nadu as their base. It had trained and armed them. Now, it has turned its guns against the very people who had looked upon it as a saviour.

The Political Game of Rajiv & JR

The explanation for this Indian action, apart from the aim of bringing Sri Lanka under its control, lies in the fact that the interests of Rajiv Gandhi, no less than those of J. R. Jayewardene, demand that the revolution – any movement of the Tamils – be not allowed to succeed lest it set a 'bad' example. That is also the reason why the Super-Powers rushed in to support the Accord. All reactionary forces are eager to douse the flames of revolution lest the 'injection' spread to other countries in the region.

That, initially, India had supported the Tamil cause is undoubted and cannot be denied. But it would seem that it gave support to the Tamil militants with the aim of controlling and manipulating them against the Sri Lankan government. Unfortunately for them, the Tamil Tigers did not prove pliable instruments. So they had to be suppressed!

That innocent Tamils caught in between were going to suffer does not seem to have entered the calculations of the Indians. India's image in the world stands besmirched. From pretending to be a supporter of liberation movements it has transformed itself into an oppressor of the Tamil national movement. Its troops are fighting on foreign soil and killing people in one of its important states.

The Tamil militant groups cannot be absolved of all blame for precipitating this situation. Quite apart from the question of whether better tactics could have prevented Indian military intervention, their strategy of putting all their eggs in one basket, of relying too heavily on Indian support, was bound to lead to disastrous results.

Here is an important lesson that all liberation movements must learn. They must not place exclusive reliance on foreign sources of support. They should have more faith in self-reliance. It is better to develop slowly over a long period than be inflated into a big force with foreign support. Because, if for any reason the foreign support is withdrawn, the movement will fall flat on its face. Whereas, if it had depended on self-reliance, it would be unshakable.

The blame for the present situation must also be shared by the progressive and left movement in Sri Lanka. It is the fact that the left movement betrayed the correct international principles it had once championed and fell into the mire of parliamentary opportunism and thereby alienated themselves from the Tamils that has been responsible for a good part of the mess we are in.

Democracy unsuited for a multi-racial society

In a multi-racial, multi-linguistic society, parliamentary democracy does not work. If they want to come to power through parliament, all parliamentary parties must seek to woo the majority and ignore the minority. They support not what is right but what would bring them to power with majority support. That is why it is correct to say that the Donoughmore constitution which gave us adult franchise and territorial presentation contained within it the seeds of communal dissension.

The extent of the degeneration of the left movement can be seen from the fact that the bombing of Jaffna brought forth no discernible protest in the south. When the Anthony Eden government bombed the Suez Canal in 1956, the British Labour Party organised huge demonstrations in London. When Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, there were demonstrations against it in Jerusalem. But, when the Sinhala air force bombed Jaffna, there was not even a whimper of a protest from the left parties in the south.

The left movement – except for small groups – failed to take up a principled, internationalist stand on the Tamil problem because it did not want to alienate itself from the Sinhala majority. The result was that it could not fight back the Communalism unleashed not only by the government but also by the SLFP and the JVP. It was this tragedy (to which the bourgeois leadership of the Tamils also contributed by their refusal to see the Sinhala left as an ally) that pushed the Tamils to look for allies and friends abroad in India, rather than draw closer to their natural allies in the left movement. It was tragic for both sides.

Unity of Progressive forces essential

Where do we go from here? I believe that the future lies in the unity of the progressive and revolutionary forces among both the Sinhalese and the Tamils. It is true that, at the moment, the signs are not propitious and the Tamils have a right to despair of any such hope. But, we must have faith and work perseveringly for such a unity.

Such unity must be built on the basis of the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Tamils. But, how the right of self-determination is to be exercised and in what form is a matter that can be discussed. The acceptance of the right of self-determination for the Tamils does not necessarily mean that they must separate. Lenin once said that the right of divorce does not mean that all married couples must divorce. It depended on the circumstances.

Solution to Ethnic Problem

In the interests of the future building of socialism in Sri Lanka for which the unity of the revolutionary forces of the Sinhalese and the Tamils is an absolute pre-requisite, we have a right to ask the Tamil people to

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A SENSE OF BETRAYAL

"The Sri Lankan army was very much better."

This was more a condemnation of the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) than any praise for the Sri Lankan army. There was unanimity on this point among the people we met at two houses in Wellawatte, Colombo. They had all fled what to them appeared to be indiscriminate violence in Jaffna on the part of the IPKF.

So the ordinary Tamil people of Sri Lanka are again at the receiving end of violence as they have been a number of times during the last three decades, although the perpetrators are different now.

A teenage girl was relating how she and her family escaped from Jaffna after having had to be without food or even water where they had taken refuge. There was a child of four or five years who had not yet realised that his mother and father, both victims of IPKF violence, were no more. A middle-aged woman looked with a start when she was told that someone had come into the house. There was also a man who appeared to be an office worker who said that he did not know whether his wife and children were dead or alive, or where they were.

I also happened to see some video films made from October 13 to 18 brought by a journalist friend. I had no reason to doubt their authenticity. I could not think that the civilians who lay dead had all been caught in the cross-fire. Some had been hacked to death. There were some other photographs which showed a number of people including young children who had been bayoneted to death.

Two or three days before the IPKF operation in Jaffna there was a bus load of Sinhala refugees who had fled Trincomalee and had come to a Newspaper Office in Colombo. Slogans against the IPKF, against President Jayewardene and against Prime Minister Gandhi were painted all over the bus. Some of the people were weeping. They said the IPKF was helping the LTTE to attack the Sinhala villagers. I wondered whether they were making a mistake. But what they said was fully corroborated by other Sinhala refugees I met at a temple in Colombo. Some of the people I spoke to had been in Trincomalee for 40-50 years. Some knew no other home.

Perhaps the LTTE in Jaffna is paying for its caprice in violating the terms of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord which it had accepted though reluctantly, and for its wanton killings. But ***must*** *the civilians, the ordinary people, pay for the LTTE's sins?*

The Tamils of Sri Lanka had always been Indophiles. Prabhakaran too was no exception. He had once said his heroes were, not any modern revolutionaries, but Bhima and Karna, two warriors who figure in the Mahabharatha.

The Tamils always looked to India for inspiration and support. India's woes were their woes too. I remember an incident on October 31, 1984, the day Indira Gandhi was gunned down. In a shoe factory at Dematagoda, Colombo, where about half the workers were Tamils, when the news of the crime came over the radio, all the Tamil workers stood up immediately and spontaneously. This was symbolic of the affection that the ordinary Tamil people of Sri Lanka had for India and its leaders.

Now they feel that they have been betrayed.

Colombo
October 21, 1987 **D. S. S. Mayadunne**

A TRAP IT WAS

WE HAD CALLED IT "A Trap", the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, on our front page soon after it was signed at Colombo. It now appears worse than a "trap" – it smells like a conspiracy. And instead of extricating ourselves from the humiliating and dangerous situation, we are getting deeper into the mire.

Before he left for Colombo to sign the Accord reports had appeared in a section of the press of Rajiv Gandhi telling Tamil Nadu MPs that the agreement was so favourable to India that it might "result in Sri Lanka being transformed into another Bhutan." It looks like turning into another Vietnam, and the tragedy is that in this war of attrition Indians are killing Indians.

Our jawans are no more a peacekeeping force. They seem to be fighting a war and our Prime Minister does not rule out a "more aggressive role" for Indian troops. How far the Indian army can go in its mission, he adds in an interview to Newsweek, *"will have to be decided in consultation with President Jayewardene," who is protected by security guards sent from India. The wily President will be the last man to ask the Indian forces to withdraw.*

In these two months since the return of Rajiv Gandhi from Colombo, after a miraculous escape at the airport, everything that could go wrong has gone wrong. We are in a mess. Tamils in Sri Lanka have rejected the Accord and Sinhalas are up in arms against India. It was the gravest mistake to have sent our troops to a foreign land, and that, too, to put down a people who ethnically belong to us.

Yet, the situation has to be saved. Jayewardene has to be saved. The Accord, good or bad, has to be saved. India's reputation as a peace-loving country and a respecter of its neighbours' sovereignty has to be saved.

'Current' (New Delhi),
10 October

THE PERSECUTION OF THE TAMILS

THE APPEAL COURT RULING last week that decided that Home Secretary Douglas Hurd was wrong in rejecting the claim for asylum on the part of six Tamil refugees is a welcome victory for democratic rights. Although the government will appeal to the House of Lords, and if it loses there it will no doubt change the rules of the game once again, campaigning organisations have at least managed to secure vital time.

The tragic events in Sri Lanka demonstrate more conclusively than ever before that the Tamil people on the island do indeed have a "well-founded fear of persecution". The force that was supposed to protect the Tamil people has now become the instrument of an oppression that can only be described as a pogrom. Whilst the Indian authorities deny the numerous reports of atrocities their action in excluding all journalists from the zone of conflict effectively belies their hollow denials.

As Velupillai Prabhakaran, leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), pointed out in his urgent message to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi it is a "great tragedy" that the Indian Peacekeeping Force is "now engaged in total war" against his people who are now facing "some of the worst human tragedies, on a scale (they) never experienced even at the hands of Sri Lankan soldiers at the peak of their atrocities".

According to Prabhakaran such atrocities included the raping of women and the hurling of mutilated bodies along the streets. The western media has sought to dismiss such claims but even their own sources have told them of acts which are scarcely less horrific, such as that of the entire family allegedly shot dead by Indian troops as they left a house they had commandeered

Certainly when there are bombing raids from the air and the use of heavy artillery, armoured personnel carriers and tanks on the ground in a heavily populated area it is difficult to see how numerous civilian casualties can be avoided.

As heavy fighting continues to rage one can see the hollowness of the Indian boast that they could defeat the liberation fighters in 72 hours. ***Like all the armies of the reactionary exploiting classes in history they failed to recognise the capacity for determination, innovativeness and sheer heroism that exists in a genuine people's army. The longer the present fighting continues in Sri Lanka the more indelibly will India's banner of anti-imperialism and non-alignment be stained.***

'Asian Times', October 23, 1987

Lanka Accord a 'failure': Vajpayee

BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY leader Atal Behari Vajpayee on Saturday said the Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord was a "failure".

Vajpayee told journalists in Ahmedabad that the involvement of the Indian Peace-keeping Force in curbing insurgency among militant Tamils in Sri Lanka could help the Sri Lankan government in doing what they could not accomplish, but might create serious problems back home.

The people of Tamil Nadu were not happy about India's role in Sri Lanka and this discontent could surface any time, he feared.

The Accord should have been signed between Sri Lanka and the Tamil groups without India being a party to it, he declared.

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FOREIGN JOURNALISTS REPORT FROM JAFFNA:

Destruction of Ethnic Alignments

By Barbara Crossette

THE ONCE-SOLID FRONT among the Sinhalese majority inside and outside government is crumbling as dissension has grown over the invitation of Indian forces into the country.

In the last few years, when Tamils died in Jaffna at the hands of Sri Lankan troops, especially in cases involving civilians, there was outrage in Madras and New Delhi. When Tamil rebels arrived for talks with Sri Lankans in foreign cities, they were escorted by Indians.

Today, Indian troops are killing Tamils in Jaffna, some reportedly civilians, and the strongest of the Tamil armies, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, has turned its guns and propaganda on the Indians.

A high government official said some Tamil militants who had fallen out with the Tigers were hiding in Hindu temples in the largely Sinhalese city of Colombo, where they feel safer than in the north.

International Herald Tribune, October 15, 1987

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INDIANS MOP UP

By Balram Tandon with the 54th Indian Division

YESTERDAY'S BIG BATTLEFIELD was the area around the university and the north of Jaffna which the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the main guerrilla group, still control despite losing their major bastion between the general hospital and the bus terminal.

Heavy casualties

The Indian peacekeeping force has suffered heavy casualties in this assault, losing 12 officers, nine junior officers and 132 other ranks. "But the LTTE's casualties have been much heavier, "said Brig. Singh. Nearly 500 Indian soldiers have been wounded in the battles in the peninsula and town of Jaffna, and neither Brig. Singh nor any other ranking officer here is willing to say how long it will go on.

No water, little food

Meanwhile, life in Jaffna is horrendous, the electricity to the town has been cut for more than 10 days, there is no water and little food. There is no traffic on the roads, but there are booby-trapped road blocks.

There are no postal or telegraph services and all shops have been shut since the battle began 14 days ago.

However, peace has returned for the time being to the peninsula spiralling south of Jaffna. There are now no visible signs of fighting at Vadamarachi, Valvettiturai and the other towns.

But I flew over miles of deserted roads and farms on the flat, fertile, often marshy plain, criss-crossed by lagoons, without seeing any signs of human activity. Not one boat was plying the hundreds of square miles of lagoons.

The Daily Telegraph, October 24, 1987

INDIANS FACE TAMIL RESISTANCE

by David Wigg

THE INDIAN ARMY was in control of the centre of Jaffna yesterday, but was still having difficulty, wiping out the last pockets of Tamil Tiger resistance.

The streets just outside the old Jaffna Fort, which has served as a Portuguese, Dutch, British, Sri Lankan and now Indian stronghold, are deserted except for cows, crows, stray dogs – and an occasional Indian platoon.

The Post Office is a burnt-out shell, pocketed by bullet holes. The Regal Cinema will be showing no Hindi musicals for some time. The hands on the clock tower point forever at 6.35. A corner statue of some now unknown worthy has had its face shot off.

In the general hospital, only one ward was open for journalists to see. Two rows of women lay with various wounds that could have come from either side in the combat. The face of one girl was burnt almost completely off. Another girl, about four, lay dying while her mother made a slight breeze with a white fan.

About 2,000 refugees were sheltering in and around the Roman Catholic church.

Fear of troops

They had little food, they said, and they were afraid of the Indian troops who had ordered them there. One man had brought in his 99-year old mother on his shoulders.

The Daily Telegraph, October 27, 1987

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GUERRILLAS BLOCK INDIAN CONTROL

By Loren Jenkins

INDIAN AND SRI LANKAN MILITARY OFFICERS in Jaffna acknowledge that the Tigers are nonetheless conducting an effective urban guerrilla war even though the rebels are vastly outnumbered.

The officers speak of their opponents as experienced and motivated guerrillas who have used home-made mines, high-explosive booby traps and hit-and-run tactics to keep the elite Indian troops at bay. The slow advance of Indian troops into Jaffna and the unexpectedly high Indian casualties led the army to replace its commander here. The Indian Army said *(October 24)* that 160 soldiers had been killed, 544 had been wounded and 38 were missing.

A Sri Lankan official with experience fighting the Tigers said he thought the Indian Army was now fighting only a rear guard of the guerrillas. "Personally, I think the main groups have slipped away to fight another day", said the Sri Lankan officer, who asked that his name not be used.

The Indian campaign in Jaffna had been expected to be swift and precise. Instead it has proved to be clumsy and costly. Many Tamils, who first greeted the Indians as saviours, have turned against them as the battle wears on.

International Herald Tribune, October 26, 1987

India must stop Repression

continued from page 4

exercise the right of self-determination not in the form of a separate state but in the form of a federal state or full regional autonomy for the Tamil-speaking Northern and Eastern Provinces. By regional autonomy is meant full powers for the regional unit over all subjects, except such central subjects as Defence, Finance, External Affairs, etc. It must include power over internal security i.e. the police, land and land settlement, i.e. colonisation.

While on the matter of a solution I must point out that a solution must be found to the vexed problem of colonisation. Colonisation is intimately connected to the question of nationhood. Without territory no people can develop as a nation. The claim of the Tamils to be a nation depends on the fact that they have occupied a contiguous territory in the North and East of Sri Lanka for a long period of time, cut them off from this territory and they will cease to be a nation.

That is why, starting with D. S. Senanayake, all Sinhala leaders have tried through state-aided colonisation schemes to colonise the Tamil areas with Sinhalese peasants. The diabolical aim was to convert a Tamil majority province into a Sinhala majority province by altering the ethnic ratio. That is how the proportion of Sinhalese living in the Eastern Province rose from only 8% at the end of the second world war to its position of about 25%.

The Tamil problem cannot be resolved without solving the problem of land and colonisation. Unfortunately, the Accord does not mention a word about this subject. The result was that the Jayewardene government hastened to take steps to intensify colonisation of the Eastern Province with Sinhalese peasants so that it could get a favourable result in the referendum next year which is to decide whether the merger was to continue or not. Equally, some sections of the Tamil militants tried to frighten the Sinhalese into leaving the Eastern Province. It was a fight for land.

The Tamils have no objection to individual Sinhalese buying land in Tamil areas and living there peacefully. What they object to is state-aided colonisation schemes under which large numbers of Sinhalese are transported to Tamil areas and settled as colonists. Unless this problem is solved, there cannot be any settlement of the Tamil problem.

The Tamil militants have courageously resisted the Sinhala armed forces for nearly four years. Now they are faced with a more powerful and a more brutal enemy. I applaud their courage in taking on such a powerful enemy. But they will need more than courage. They must follow correct tactics. They must win the sympathy of the world by desisting from unnecessary violence, particularly against innocent people – be they Sinhalese or Tamils. They must so behave that the world will demand that the Indian troops should stop repressing the Tamils.

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COLONISATION: An Important Issue

by MAYAN VIJE

COLONISATION IS A VEXED PROBLEM in the whole ethnic issue in Sri Lanka, though the tendency is to place it last in the list of discriminatory measures of successive governments. Government-planned and implemented colonisation brings with it all the attendant dangers, the worst being physical insecurity. Although colonisation of the North and East began before independence, it has been accelerated by wilful planning since independence, causing great concern to the Tamil-speaking people. Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Vavuniya areas had been particularly selected by the planners and colonisation schemes implemented without any regard for economic viability. The 1966 Mission of the International Labour Organisation stated that "a long series of reports has questioned the economic viability of major colonisation schemes and post-1974 work on Mahaweli Ganga promises low rates of return." *(ILO: Matching Employment Opportunites and Expectations, 1971).*

Sole Aim of Colonisation

The intention of the governments has been mainly to occupy Tamil areas and to bring about demographic changes in these areas, consequently achieving alteration in the ethnic composition for the electoral advantage of Sinhalese and reducing the Tamil-speaking people to a minority in their own areas. This is no speculation. The alteration in the ethnic composition has been so thoroughly achieved from the 1950's, it has been possible for governments to create exclusive Sinhalese zones within the Tamil areas which drastically affect the franchise and security of the Tamils.

In 1953, the population of the Sinhalese in the Batticaloa District was 11.5%. After the creation of the Amparai district in 1963 by continued colonisation, this district had 29.3% of Sinhalese, while Batticaloa district had 3.4%. By 1981 the population of the Sinhalese in the Amparai district had increased to 38%, while the Tamil population decreased to 19.8% in 1981 from 23.8% in 1963. In the Northern and Eastern provinces, between the years 1921 and 1981 the Sinhalese population shot up from 2.2% to 13.2%. Between these two years the Sinhalese population rose from 4.5% to 24.9% in the Eastern province. In Mannar district the increase was from 2.1% in 1921 to 8.1% in 1981. In the Trincomalee district, which continues to be the cynosure of all eyes, the Sinhalese population rose from 18.2% in 1953 to 33.6% in 1981. In the Vavuniya district the increase was from 6.7% in 1953 to 19.4% in 1981.

These changes have enabled the governments to carve out Amparai from the Batticaloa district as a separate administrative and electoral district to benefit the Sinhalese people. The last Delimitation Commission changed the Tamil name of Amparai to Digamadulla (Sinhalese). Similarly the Seruwila electorate was carved out of the Trincomalee district. **These measures increased the Sinhalese representation in parliament to 80% although they are only 72% of the population. The Seruwila and Amparai electorates cover an area of 1,548 square miles out of the total of 3,839 square miles of the Eastern province. Thus successive governments ensured the occupation of a substantial portion of the traditional Tamil areas.**

Statistics of Demographic Content

The Increase in population of the Sinhalese in the Tamil provinces has no relation to the normal expected annual growth rate in population or migration. The above table shows the annual rate of population growth.

The Tamils have been continuously agitating against state-planned colonisation of their traditional areas. The Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Agreement *(26.7.1951)* provided that "the powers of the regional councils would include the power to select allottees to whom lands within their area of authority would be alienated" and the then

ANNUAL RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH 1971 – 1981

	Tamils	Muslims	Sinhalese	Others	Total
Trincomalee	2.47%	1.92%	4.55%	2.99%	2.95%
Batticaloa	2.69%	2.53%	–	1.28%	2.52%
Amparai	2.23%	2.59%	5.58%	2.90%	3.61%

This table clearly indicates that there is some other factor which causes the unnatural growth of the Sinhalese in the Tamil areas. That factor is certainly colonisation.

The following table shows the increase in population in the Eastern province from 1921 to 1981:

POPULATION – EASTERN PROVINCE

ALL RACES	SINHALESE	%	TAMILS	%	MOORS	%
192821	8744	*4.5*	103251	*53.5*	75992	*39.4*
279112	23456	*8.4*	146059	*52.3*	109024	*39.1*
354410	46470	*13.1*	167898	*47.3*	135322	*38.1*
546130	109690	*20.1*	246120	*45.1*	185750	*34.0*
717571	148572	*20.7*	315560	*43.9*	248567	*34.6*
976475	243358	*24.9*	409451	*41.9*	315201	*32.2*

Prime Minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike in a statement issued immediately thereafter *(16.8.1957)* said that **"the instrument of colonisation should not be used to convert the Northern and Eastern Provinces into Sinhalese majority areas or in any other manner to the detriment of the Tamil-speaking people of these areas".**

Mr. Bandaranaike, otherwise myopic, had the foresight to use the term 'instrument of colonisation'. Indeed, colonisation has not only been used as an instrument to displace and deprive the Tamils of their lands and franchise, but has also been used to perpetrate violence against Tamils in colonised areas.

The Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact *(24.3.1965)* too included colonisation in its terms and provided that, "land in the Northern and Eastern provinces should be in the first instance granted to landless persons in the district, secondly to Tamil speaking persons resident in the Northern and Eastern provinces and thirdly to other citizens of Sri Lanka, preferences being given to Tamil citizens in the rest of the country." As is well known these two agreements were unilaterally shelved by the governments to appease the Sinhalese people and the Buddhist clergy.

The 1977 election Manifesto of the ruling United National Party included, among others, 'colonisation' as being an important grievance of the Tamil-speaking people and acknowledged that the 'lack of solution to their problems has made the Tamil-speaking people support even a movement for the creation of a separate state'. After gaining power, it is not unusual for a government to forget what it included in the Manifesto. But it is beyond explanation that the government continues colonisation despite accepting that the Tamils had taken a justifiable step, and realising that such continuation would bring the country to chaos. **Colonisation has been given impetus with renewed vigour during the tenure of the present government in the face of warnings by human rights organisations such as the International Commission of Jurists.**

Violence on Tamils in Colonised Areas

Violence in the colonised areas has been severe. In the 1956 violence the area most affected was the Gal Oya valley in the Eastern province where a colonisation scheme was being implemented *(Emergency '58 – Tarzie Vittachi).* In 1958 too, colonised areas such as Padaviya were badly affected and many Tamils were killed and their property was destroyed *(Vittachi).* In the 1977 and 1983 violences colonists rampaged through the Tamil areas killing and burning with the assistance of the security forces.

In Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Mannar there has been extensive colonisation and even Tamil names of places have

continued overleaf

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Accord Concord

BY RAJINDER PURI

AFTER INDIA HAD SIGNED the Accord with Sri Lanka, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi described it as the most important agreement of the century. I was rather sceptical about that description. Now, however, I have changed my mind. Because everybody I have met is praising Rajiv Gandhi's policy in Sri Lanka. This is what people are saying:

Soviet diplomat: "We believe that Rajiv Gandhi's policy in Sri Lanka is simply wonderful. We believe that in the years to come it will prove to be the greatest boon to the Soviet Union because it will make us look good in Afghanistan..."

American diplomat: "I think that what is happening in Sri Lanka right now is absolutely great. It is indeed a great morale booster for the American people, who had earlier believed that American leaders were the only ones who were dumb enough to make a mistake like Vietnam..."

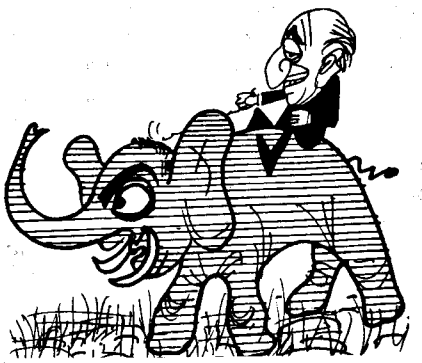
Sinhalese soldier: "The new arrangement is a great relief to us. Earlier, we had to shoot only the Tamils, but now we can shoot both the Tamils and the Indian troops and, better still, watch as they also shoot at each other..."

Tamil militant: "We are much better off than we were before, thanks to the Accord. Earlier, we were shot by the brutal Sinhalese soldiers, now we are shot by the considerate Indian soldiers..."

Chinese diplomat: "We welcome the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord as the start of a great new chapter in the affairs of Asia. We are therefore watching keenly the developments in Sri Lanka, and when the time is ripe we will certainly make our own contribution to the movement that has been started by Rajiv Gandhi—by striving for a similar Accord in Arunachal..."

Pakistani diplomat: "Rajiv Gandhi has shown the way by his policy in Sri Lanka. As soon as President Zia-ul-Haq feels strong enough, we hope he will follow Rajiv Gandhi's footsteps by acting in Kashmir and Punjab..."

Sri Lankan diplomat: "Sri Lanka will be eternally grateful to Rajiv Gandhi for bailing President Jayewardene out of what had become an impossible situation. Thank God, the people in our country have stopped abusing the Sri Lankan President. They now only abuse the Indian prime minister..."



Sikh militant: "Long live the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord! Now at least our brothers in the south will appreciate why the Punjab Accord had to fail..."

RSS leader: "Long live the Accord—it is the first step towards Akhand Bharat..."

DMK leader: "Long live the Accord—it is the first step towards Akhand Dravidastan..."

Eelam leader: "Long live the Accord—it is the first step towards Akhand Eelam..."

Congress(I) leader: "The Indo-Sri Lankan Accord was a fantastic piece of good work. Already, its benefits are visible—people have stopped talking about the mess on Bofors, they talk only of the mess in Sri Lanka..."

By courtesy of INDIA TODAY October 31 1987

NEWS IN BRIEF

Attempt on TULF Presidents' Life

A HAND-GRENADE, hidden in a parcel and wired to detonate all but blew up in the face of a postal employee at the Returned Letter Office on Anna Salai this afternoon.

The grenade which had Pakistani markings was set to explode once the parcel was opened.

According to postal sources, the registered parcel was booked in Kanchipuram and was addressed to Mr. M. Sivasithamparan, president of the Tamil United Liberation Front of Sri Lanka living in Royapettah. But it found its way to the Returned Letter Office after the addressee refused to accept the parcel. The sender's name and address were found to be ficticious.

'The Hindu', October 7, 1987

☆ ☆ ☆

Moscow sees American hand in India's involvement in Sri Lanka

THE SOVIET UNION *is understood to have indicated to New Delhi that it was very unhappy over the manner in which India has been embroiled in the Sri Lankan tangle.*

According to the Soviets, New Delhi acted in haste while signing the Accord and at the urging of the United States, whose advice has historically been unreliable for the Indians. It now appears that Moscow had asked Delhi to be cautious in its approach even though it officially welcomed the Indo-Lankan Accord.

It seems that Rajiv Gandhi agreed to sign the Indo-Lankan Accord not at the suggestion of President Jayewardene but due to considerable pressure from the United States. He was apparently told by Washington that a coup was imminent in Sri Lanka and those aspiring for power were determined to apply the "final solution" to the Tamil problem in the island which really meant extermination of the Tamils.

Washington is also believed to have told New Delhi that the Indian presence on the island was the best way of safeguarding Indian interests there. In this context a decisive say for New Delhi on the port of Trincomalee – which has been a source of anxiety for quite some time – was dangled as the bait.

'Lanka Guardian', 15 October, 1987

COLONISATION

continued from page 7

been changed to Sinhalese. Lands developed by Tamils were taken over and given to the Sinhalese and the administrative structure of the area changed to facilitate colonisation. Ex-convicts in the guise of their rehabilitation were settled in farms built and developed by Tamils and army protection was afforded to the Sinhalese colonists. The ex-convicts had repeatedly harassed Tamils in the area by robbery, assault and even rape.

In Trincomalee the government machinery has extensively assisted colonisation even after repeated protests from the Member of Parliament for the area. In land alienation, the Sinhalese allottees far exceeded the Tamil-speaking allottees although Trincomalee is a Tamil majority area. The Tamils in this area have been subjected to brutal violence by the security forces assisted by the colonists. Whole villages have been burnt and hundreds of Tamils irrespective of age or sex have been slaughtered. Similar violence has been perpetrated by colonists and the security forces in the Batticaloa area and the Tamils in the Amparai district bore the brunt of the violence. The government let loose the Special Task Force on civilians and hundreds have been murdered in classic Nazi style. In these areas the Sinhalese colonists have been given protection by the security forces.

In several proposals submitted at the All Party Conference (1984), the Political Parties Conference (1986) and other forums, the persistent feature which causes apprehension to the Tamil-speaking people is the reserved power of the Central government over the control and distribution of land.

The Accord – Colonisation Ignored

The Indo-Sri Lankan Accord makes no mention of this important problem and the Sri Lankan government has grabbed at the opportunity by transporting new colonists into the Eastern Province since the ceasefire in July 1987 and India has taken no steps to prevent such colonisation. This is the main reason which has precipitated the current offensive against the Tamil militants in which hundreds of Tamil civilians have been killed.

It appears that the Indian government has failed to realise, in spite of being involved in the negotiating process for the past four years, that colonisation is the crux of the entire ethnic problem. No sooner India realises the importance of colonisation, than it would be possible to bring about peace in Sri Lanka. Otherwise, there is no doubt that the present impasse will continue.

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DISTURBING EVIDENCE ON ATHULATHMUDALI

THE SPECIFIC INFORMATION now available with the Government of India makes it clear that Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali, the Sri Lankan Minister of National Security who returned only recently to his post, was the moving spirit behind the completely unexpected arrest of the 17 LTTE men and the decision to bring them to Colombo for "interrogation." It was Mr. Athulathmudali who remained adamant on this matter and turned down the persistent attempts by the leadership of the Indian Peacekeeping Force and by the High Commission in Colombo to get the LTTE men released.

Tragic consequences

The strong recommendation made by Indian military professionals as well as diplomats was overruled, with tragic and horrifying consequences for the peace process. The failure of the Indian attempt to prevent the LTTE members, including the Jaffna regional commander, Mr. Kumarappa and the Trincomalee regional commander, Mr. Pulendran, from being taken to Colombo triggered a sharp deterioration in the overall situation. The taking of cyanide by the LTTE men, and news about the torture they had been subjected to by the Sri Lankan security force personnel, were followed by the spate of vicious "revenge killings" of captured Sinhala soldiers and a larger number of Sinhala civilians, including women and children, by the LTTE in the Eastern Province. Had these savage killings not taken place, the view here would have been of considerable sympathy for the LTTE and anger against the elements within the Sri Lankan Government who triggered this deterioration.*

Evidence of backsliding

The strong suspicion is that Mr. Athulathmudali, who played a notorious role in the earlier anti-Tamil military campaign by the Sri Lankan security forces and was known to be strongly opposed to the Sri Lankan peace agreement is playing his own game under the new circumstances. This, combined with other evidence of backsliding in Colombo—for instance, in the devolution package that is supposed to be ready for gazetting—must be watched closely by India, it is clear.

Apart from Mr. Athulathmudali, the Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, and some other senior members of the Sri Lankan Cabinet are known to be opposed to the Indo-Sri Lankan peace agreement. Mr. Athulathmudali returned to his duties recently, after an extended period of treatment for very serious injuries caused by the bomb explosion in the parliament building in Colombo. There is believed to be sympathy for Mr. Athulathmudali among the Sinhalese and the impression here is that the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, feels he owes a "debt of honour" to the man who directed the earlier war and found his own role under the changed circumstances fading.

Sponsoring of hoodlums

The information available to the Government of India also shows that the recent communal clashes in Trincomalee began with targeted attacks against innocent Tamils by Sinhala hoodlums who were issued weapons from within the Sri Lankan police force, and then there was fierce "retaliation". One agent provocateur captured by the IPKF was a Sinhala detenue released recently from the Boosa army camp. His presence in Trincomalee and his involvement in the communal incidents could not be explained in any way other than by the simple fact that he was sponsored by some elements within the Sri Lankan official set-up. In addition, the attacks on the IPKF in the Sinhala areas suggested to professionals the hand of subversive and well-connected elements.

Deeper political game?

One interpretation here is that there is a deeper game, being guided by some political elements in Colombo, to drive a wedge between the Eastern and Northern provinces so that the merger promised does not take place. This would involve a more substantive role for the Sri Lankan security forces in the Eastern Province and getting the IPKF embroiled with the LTTE in the Northern Province. The game would also involve putting pressure on India to let the Sri Lankan Army come out of the barracks, in the name of undertaking "joint operations" with the IPKF to save the Agreement. Along with the surrender of arms by the militants the Agreement calls for the confinement of the Sri Lankan Army to the barracks.

The strong Indian military response which is concentrated in the crisis area, the Eastern province, is clearly meant to demonstrate to the LTTE and to everyone else that the IPKF—which has been maligned among both the Tamils and the Sinhalese—can act decisively, cleanly and overpoweringly and is not going to put up with any more nonsense from anyone. Its current role and potential are firmly guaranteed under the Agreement and, among other things, the game being played by some influential elements in the Sinhala camp must be countered urgently.

By courtesy of the Hindu, October 17, 1987

*This allegation about "revenge killings" has not been substantiated despite the denial of the LTTE. Similar allegations in the past have also never been authenticated or substantiated. *Ed.*

***Tamils use twigs to keep flies** off the bodies of Tamil Tigers who swallowed cyanide capsules after their arrest in Sri Lanka.*

TAMILS WIN APPEAL AGAINST DEPORTATION

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT acted swiftly last week to avoid what it fears will be a "refugee flood" by appealing to the House of Lords against a resounding defeat in an Appeal Court concerning the case of six Tamils seeking political asylum. And despite their victory, British refugee groups supporting the Tamils fear a further tightening of immigration law if the Home Office appeal against the court decision is turned down.

A previous group of Tamil Refugees in Wimbledon where they were looked after by the local community.

The Appeal Court on Monday, October 12 ruled that the six Tamils could stay until their cases were rejudged.

Master of the Rolls, Sir John Richardson, ruled that Home Secretary Douglas Hurd had "erred in law" by applying the wrong legal test to attempt deportations. The Home Secretary had "misinterpreted" the expression "well-founded fear" to mean the applicant for refugee status must establish not only that he feared persecution, but also that these fears were objectively justified.

Sir John Richardson said the Tamils had only to prove a "genuine fear" and not a "well-founded fear" of persecution to be accepted as a refugee.

'Asian Times', October 23, 1987

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These Tigers are wild

RECENT EVENTS ON THE beautiful, bloodsoaked island teach us that this kind of bestiality is not confined to the Tamil minority.

Mobs from the Sinhalese majority have killed thousands of Tamils in years of intercommunal strife, and it would be totally unsurprising to learn soon that reprisals have been taken.

Sri Lanka is rapidly becoming the world's least necessary state, and if partition turns out to be the only way of halting the reciprocal genocide, so be it. There is no law to decree that a large island must contain only one political unit.

The only agency remotely capable of restoring the ceasefire is the Indian Peacekeeping Force of 12,000. The Sri Lankan Army is not only overwhelmingly Sinhalese but has also conspicuously failed, amid much slaughter of ordinary Tamils, to suppress the Tigers in the past which is why the Indian Government, mindful of its own large Tamil minority, intervened in the first place.

'The Guardian', 8 October

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PAKISTAN'S ANGER

ISLAMABAD IS TERRIBLY UPSET by the fact that Indian armed forces have been asked by President Junius Jayewardene to do a peacekeeping job in Sri Lanka. It has vented its anger and dismay at the level of no less than its Foreign Secretary, Mr. Abdus Sattar. As a spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign office he has disapproved of the presence of Indian soldiers in Sri Lanka because he thinks it is interference in the affairs of Sri Lanka.

The Indian Peacekeeping Forces are in Sri Lanka today with the same authority that permitted, some time ago, Pakistani military trainers and Israeli intelligence experts to be in that country (it is a different matter if the friends of the Arabs in Islamabad did not find the Israelis strange bed-fellows).

Mr. Sattar's ire at the presence of Indian forces in Sri Lanka, therefore, should have been directed at Mr. Jayewardene. By lambasting India instead, Pakistan is guilty of insulting Sri Lanka's sovereign authority.

'The Hindustan Times', 22 August

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THE AGONY OF JAFFNA

HOPES THAT TALKING MIGHT bring peace back to Sri Lanka looked increasingly frail as the denials poured in. But whether or not there are plans to talk with the Tamil Tigers, there certainly ought to be such contacts; they are the last chance of sparing Jaffna. India is demanding as a condition that the leader of the Tigers in Jaffna, Velupillai Prabhakaran, should agree to surrender all arms and accept in its entirety the Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord.

If partition is forced on Sri Lanka — and such is the venom now released that it cannot be ruled out — it will be alleged in retrospect that that was the Indian object in going in. That judgement had better be left to the release of the Indian state archives, but the July 29 Accord did not carry that inevitable conclusion.

Had the Tamil Tigers honoured much earlier the wholly honourable document drawn up as much on Tamil as on Sinhalese behalf, the bloodshed would not have continued.

'The Guardian', 16 October

FROM THE EDITORIALS

INDIA'S POLICEMEN

SRI LANKAN PRESIDENT Junius Jayewardene has used both the conflict and the Indian involvement to bolster his shaky power in a country that has not been permitted a parliamentary election in 10 years.

Now that the Tamils have something to fight for in the short term — a regional council provided for in the Accord — they are killing each other and rival ethnic groups in the fight for domination.

There is scant hope for an immediate solution to this complicated and problematic set of circumstances, but the errors of current peacekeeping efforts make some initial steps obvious. ***The first is that India should loosen its grip on Sri Lankan affairs. It has a legitimate interest in the region, but its manner of protecting that interest is creating an unproductive backlash.***

The second is that all participants in the civil war should begin to look for less provocative peacekeepers. It is unlikely that India will agree to back out of Sri Lanka at this point, but it might accept help from other, neutral countries in maintaining a genuine peace. ***Little purchase is gained when a peacekeeper becomes a party to the dispute, and India's political and military interest in Sri Lanka brings it dangerously close to that reality.***

'Globe and Mail' (Toronto), 12 October

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The Challenge in Sri Lanka

THE ATTEMPT, OR RATHER STRUGGLE, to implement the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement has entered a complicated and back-to-the-wall phase for India, raising some vital issues which demand a balanced but unwavering answer.

The IPKF which, after a phase of initial euphoria, was engaged in the unenviable task of holding the balance in the Accord while being subjected to constraints that left it open to vicious slander and provocations from both the Sinhala and the Tamil sides, is now entrusted with a relatively clearcut task: bend or break the LTTE, which has declared war on the IPKF's determination to enforce the proposition of demilitarisation of the ethnic conflict on both sides.

A clear share of the responsibility for the deterioration of the situation must be laid at the door of certain leading Sinhala politicians and influential elements within the Sri Lankan Government — in particular the Prime Minster, Mr. R. Premadasa, and the hawkishly unrepentant Minister for National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali. Evidence is now in the possession of India that attempts to promote State-sponsored Sinhala colonisation in parts of the Eastern Province, the setting-up and arming of Sinhala hoodlums for communal clashes and the attacks by Home Guards on the IPKF can all be linked to efforts undertaken from within the official set-up which amount to an undermining exercise. And after the LTTE backed out of a wide-ranging agreement concluded with India it was the hand of Mr. Athulathmudali that ensured that the completely uncalled for detention of 17 LTTE men, including two "regional commanders", and an attempt to take them to Colombo for "interrogation" (almost certainly meaning torture) against India's advice and protest, would trigger a sharp deterioration in the peace process. Further, the attitude of the Sri Lankan Government towards the devolution package supposed to be settled with India has been distinctly unhelpful: the substance of the package is known to be not up to India's expectation and falls considerably short of what even the Tamil moderates, TULF leaders, want.

If the facts are explained properly to the people of India, the Tamils of Sri Lanka and the world at large, and if a balanced public posture is adopted in place of mistaken attempts to go soft on the developing evidence of backsliding or worse in Colombo, India's present course would begin to look a lot better than it is being painted in certain political quarters.

'The Hindu', 17 October

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The Duty of Mr. Gandhi

THE MASSACRES IN SRI LANKA have brought the island's fragile July Peace Accord close to collapse. The question now is whether any hope of a peaceful resolution of the conflict, at some future date, can be kept alive. The recent violence is a direct product of the tensions underlying the Tamil guerrilla groups' reluctance to accept the settlement terms determined by President Jayewardene and India's Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

The other threat to the implementation of the July Accord is the strength of Sinhalese opposition. By some accounts southern Sri Lanka has witnessed an average of one death a day as Sinhalese protests have continued. The Buddhist clergy are vehemently opposed to the settlement, the Cabinet is still split over its endorsement and Parliament has yet to ratify it.

In the short term the future of the settlement rests with the Indian Peacekeeping Force. It alone can curb the Tamils, and help President Jayewardene control his Cabinet and the Sinhalese community.

'The Times', 9 October

War and Peace

On the southern flank of the country, Indian soldiers were being thrust into what could be their most malignant military misadventure in memory.

In any event, the guns that could prove even more damaging are those currently in the hands of the Indian Peacekeeping Force in Sri Lanka. New Delhi's misinterpretation of the militant mind has trapped the Indian Army into literally grabbing the tiger by the tail. Last fortnight's offensive by the Indian Army against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam has turned Sri Lanka's ethnic strife on its head—the final responsibility for procuring peace now rests with New Delhi and not Colombo. The political, and psychological, price for that posture could be potent. Even more so if their Accord, already grievously endangered, collapses in a heap—of Indian bodies.

From 'India Today', October 31, 1987

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AT WAR WITH PEACE

When on July 29, Rajiv Gandhi signed the Agreement with Junius Jayewardene, they got bouquets all round, from far and near.

Most of us in India thought that this would help to protect the interests of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

At that time, we were also told that the Indian troops would be needed to help keep peace between the Tamils and Sinhalas; and the tacit understanding was that the interests of the Tamils would be doubly safeguarded by the presence of the Indian army on this island.

What do we see today? The Indian army's record to date in Sri Lanka has been mainly to beat down the largest contingent of Tamil militants by resorting to a large-scale military operation, while the Sri Lankan President feels doubly protected.

His regime was threatened with collapse which, we were told, led him to sign the Agreement. Certainly this Accord has turned out to be a godsend for him.

What Jayewardene's security force could not achieve, namely the storming of Jaffna, our forces have accomplished – the pounding of the LTTE base and its capture. And if as a result of the killing and devastation brought about by the Indian army operation, the Tamils – at least a good section of them – turn against the Indian authorities, what a beautiful twist and turn of events it would be.

And yet even at this late hour in the operation, when the entire spectrum of Tamil Nadu opinion from chief minister M. G. Ramachandran to former union minister C. Subramaniam has appealed for cessation of military operations to resume a dialogue with the militants, the Prime Minister turned it down saying they must surrender unconditionally, lay down all their arms instantly and pledge to honour the Accord unequivocally.

This is not the language of pacification but of a victor over the vanquished. Does this behove the Prime Minister of a great country in dealing with a small militant group in another country, however misguided it may be?

And if our assessment throughout has been that the LTTE is a recalcitrant fascist force, how did Rajiv Gandhi in the July 29 Agreement make the solemn commitment that he would get them to surrender all arms within 72 hours?

It's all very well to throw the blame on the LTTE and give them a bloody nose, but does this not show up our government's cavalier manner of handling serious affairs of international import?

Again, if we really regard the LTTE as a fascist gang, how is it that in the interim administrative set-up for the newly formed Tamil province, we agreed not only that the LTTE should have a majority (7 in 12) but also that the other militant groups which had cooperated, would have no representation at all? Is this not a case of opportunism? Offering lollipops to placate the LTTE?

What is going to be the future role of the Indian army in Sri Lanka? After hounding the LTTE out of Jaffna, what would it be doing in the Tamil area? And if our friend Junius J. asks for the Indian army to put down other forms of disturbances in the Sinhala area, are we going to respond? If we do so on the plea that this would be in accordance with the July 29 Accord, do we realise the political consequences of such a step?

Many of the friends of India among the Sinhalas would take it that the Indian army is being used to perpetrate the Jayewardene regime against the democratic forces in Sri Lanka.

By courtesy of 'Times of India', October 25, 1987

Karen Parker to Rajiv Gandhi

continued from front page

suicides, but reliably attested to have been at the hands of others (Tri-star has been implicated). Surely you must agree with me that it made no strategic sense for the LTTE to engage in that action at that time, yet it made a great deal of sense for elements wishing to discredit the LTTE and the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement.

Finally, the activities of some elements of the Indian army clearly do not appear to be in the best of interests of India. Nothing would better serve some elements both inside and outside of India than to discredit Indian foreign policy at home and outside of India than to weaken Indian international influence. In my view, the continuation of hostilities will lead to a serious if not fatal blow to India's international reputation.

Given the above concerns, I have remained in daily contact with representatives of the LTTE, with your diplomatic personnel in San Francisco and elsewhere, and with the Government of Canada. I suggested to the LTTE that another State might be useful to provide direct and reliable communication between them and India. I have maintained to the representatives of India and representatives of the LTTE my willingness to effectuate communication, regardless of whatever role Canada or another state may assume.

The first essential step to prevent actual atrocities and mutual accusations of atrocities is to agree to a cease fire. India's insistence on a pre-ceasefire surrender is not practical given the nature of the LTTE and their perceived role on behalf of all Tamils. If for no other reason, the LTTE will not announce a surrender because they cannot accept what would be viewed as a betrayal of the Tamil cause. While this position may be viewed as unreasonable and intransigent by outsiders, a ceasefire can only lead to favourable results if carried out with mutual credibility and full respect for the honour and pride of the affected parties. On this point the situation with the LTTE is not unique. A ceasefire is a ceasefire and a surrender is a surrender.

Once the ceasefire is in effect, the LTTE will meet with Indian officials to arrange an orderly transfer of arms and the rehabilitation of India's role under the Agreement to guarantee the protection of the Tamil population. I have recommended to the LTTE representatives that a third party government such as Canada participate in at least the initial meetings and that the Sri Lankan government not participate until a later stage. The LTTE indicates that they accept the proposal.

Given the degree of mistrust and sensitivity of the LTTE to their perceived role as representatives of the Tamil people, it would not be therapeutic that the LTTE leadership to be viewed as being in the custody of Indian Government. *For this reason, I have proposed and the LTTE has accepted in principle that they be sheltered by the International Committee of the Red Cross, or a combined team of the Indian and Sri Lankan Red Cross during the discussions following a ceasefire. Subsequent arrangements would be, of course, a primary topic of discussion.*

Your excellency, I trust you accept my interest and comments in good faith. I remain available in whatever capacity I may serve to the cause of peace and justice for the Tamil people and the restoration of India to its rightful place in international affairs.

Your excellency, please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

Karen Parker
Attorney at Law
United Nations Representative for Disabled Peoples' International and Human Rights Advocates

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POINT OF VIEW

LTTE BETRAYED!

LESS THAN THREE WEEKS AGO we said, "what evolves from the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord depends on the intentions of the signatories of this agreement." We went on to speculate on India's intentions and said that it was either to save the Tamils from genocide or to gain dominance over Sri Lanka.*

We also said that by not implementing the provisions of the Accord that were favourable to the Tamils; by not insisting on the Sri Lankan government fulfilling its side of the obligations; by allowing the Sinhala government to re-establish its authority in Tamil areas; and by allowing renewal of Sinhala colonisation of eastern Sri Lanka – it was evident that the welfare of the Tamils was probably ***not*** *in India's list of* ***intentions***

Skilful Manœuvres

But despite our warnings, Delhi managed to take most Tamils for a good long ride. With the reknowned Indian mastery of politics (or should it be called Machiavellianism) acting in concert with the well-known Tamil naivete, Delhi was able to keep its real intentions well and truly disguised.

By carefully worded announcements craftily released at critical junctures, New Delhi was able to keep Tamils all over the world in heavenly rapture. Sri Lankan Tamils everywhere got into fervent debates, and sometimes ferocious quarrels, as to who should rule their newly gained "UTOPIA." Delhi, gleefully, added fuel to these brawls by announcing at different times names of different well known individuals for the interim government!

To the Machiavellis in Delhi this was the easy part. The difficulties came when they tried to accomplish their real intentions.

The Real Intentions. . .

There is an old axiom well known to all political scientists, Viz. ***"Governments do not act for humanitarian reasons; they do for geopolitical reasons."***

If Delhi were to have acted for humanitarian reasons they would have done so four years ago. There can be no doubt in anyone's mind today that Delhi waited, and waited patiently, only for the right opportunity to consummate its own geopolitical need; their need to establish dominance over at least one of its neighbours.

Delhi knew that to continue the subjugation of Sri Lanka, once it was achieved, it needed henchmen in the North-eastern state of Sri Lanka. Marionettes, unfortunately, are a Tamil specialty, and Delhi has an abundance of Sri Lankan Tamil puppets. There are virtually hundreds of even well known, mindless manikins among Sri Lankan Tamils who would gladly and willingly perform what Delhi bids them to do.

But, to New Delhi's predicament, the most popular of the Tamil leaders was not one of them. They were perfectly aware of Prabhakaran's honesty and integrity; his astuteness and sagacity; and his total dedication to the Tamil cause (to the exclusion of everything else). In short, he had no place in the Indian grand scheme, (actually he would have been an impediment), and therefore, from Delhi's point of view, he had to be eliminated.

The plan to eliminate Prabhakaran was concocted while the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord was still being negotiated. Delhi did not want to appear in public with Prabhakaran's blood on their hands. Therefore they recruited a two thousand strong army of mercenaries from among the defunct Tamil militant groups, trained them, and after the Accord was signed, transported them to Sri Lanka.

But, before they let these mercenaries loose, Delhi announced to the world that they have offered the position of Chief Minister to Prabhakaran. Apparently aware of this trickery, Prabhakaran outwitted them by declining to accept the position and by publicly renouncing violence to pursue a non-violent political course.

Left with no choice, Delhi ordered the mercenaries to attack LTTE members. Prabhakaran outmanœuvred Delhi by retaliating with such force that it left the mercenaries running to their Indian masters for protection. This was widely reported in the world press.

Delhi then responded by dragging its feet on implementing the Accord, but at the same time allowing the Sri Lankan government to set up Police Stations in the North and to colonise the East with Sinhalese.

Prabhakaran outperformed Delhi once again. Despite having refused to accept the Accord in the past (as the ultimate solution to the Tamil issue), he let one of his lieutenants fast unto death, demanding the ***immediate*** *implementation of the* ***very*** *same Accord.*

MUCH TO DELHI'S EMBARRASSMENT DEELIPAN DIED DEMANDING IMPLEMENTATION OF INDIA'S OWN BRAINCHILD.

This is when Delhi decided to stop playing sly political games, and used brute force to gain its own ends.

The Final Assault. . .

Having failed in their subtle methods Delhi got involved more directly. They facilitated the arrest of seventeen LTTE members and permitted the Sri Lankan army to transport them to Colombo. Twelve of them committed suicide.

Indian Ambassador Dixit himself admitted to the UPI correspondent on October 6, that he was aware of the intended suicide, but Delhi let it happen.

During the chaos that ensued, Delhi arranged for the Tamil mercenaries to carry out a series of attacks on Sinhala civilians and the Sri Lankan army, to create the impression that the LTTE was responsible.

But, UPI news of October 4 reported Sri Lankan army officers complaining that when they pursued the "rebels" who attacked them they were stopped and ordered to return to base by the Indian peace-keeping force. When they tried to resume the chase by helicopter they were intercepted again by the Indian troops. In reality the Indian troops were protecting their own henchmen.

New York Times of October 12, reported Sinhala refugees from the East stating that the Indian army was involved in the attack on Sinhala civilians.

What more evidence does one need to prove Delhi's clumsy fraud. But alas, the world doesn't pay attention to such details, and Delhi was successful in creating the illusion that LTTE is responsible for this well-publicised carnage, and therefore they need to be apprehended.

And so started the bloody war in Jaffna for the elimination of Prabhakaran.

Rajan

(Tamil Infonet, 23 Tamidan Road, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. 12601)*

For Heaven's Sake

HALT THIS FRATRICIDE

BOTH THE INDIAN Peacekeeping Force and the Tamil Tigers are currently engaged in a deadly confrontation which all well-meaning people must necessarily condemn as nothing short of senseless fratricide. Not only is it unbecoming of both but also grossly unfair by the Tamil community whom they profess to protect.

The Tamils of Sri Lanka wished, prayed and finally obtained India's intervention for an end to the conflict that had, for the past four years and more, threatened to engulf and even exterminate them. Bombed and massacred by the Sri Lankan forces they ultimately ran for refuge to Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu accepted the Tamils gladly with sympathy and concern. Of the 200,000 who fled the terror, more than 130,000 were accommodated in India, the highest for any country in the world.

Reluctantly and falteringly India entered the scene, first expressing concern, then as mediator and now fully involved in enforcing an Accord she signed with the Sri Lankan Government.

For this and many more the Sri Lankan Tamils will always be grateful. India's patronage is necessary for our free and dignified existence in Sri Lanka, as a minority facing the traditional enmity and incurable chauvinism of an entrenched racial majority.

This special relationship with India should be zealously preserved and strengthened by the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

Why then have the Tigers lost patience with India?

Alternately, why has India chosen to liquidate the Tigers as the chief obstruction to the Peace Accord between India and Sri Lanka?

The Tigers, it must be remembered, manfully represent the militant phase of the Tamil liberation struggle and the logical consequence of the failures and frustrations of interminable negotiations and broken pacts. It was a bitter expression of the lessons learnt over a period of forty years.

It is to the militant movements and, in particular, to the Tigers that the Tamil community is indebted for the progress that the Tamil liberation struggle has seen since the holocaust of 1983 and specifically to the direct intervention of India resulting in the Peace Accord three months ago. The massacre of Tamils and destruction of their property by the Sinhalese in their attempts at obtaining a military solution over a determined people caused revulsion in international circles and justified India's intervention to stop the atrocities and stem the threatened genocide.

Coupled with India's status as a regional power and problems of security of her own eroded by subtle international attempts at destabilisation, she acted with the most honourable intentions in resolving what had since become a humane problem to the Sri Lankan Tamils.

The irritations caused by the ignoring of realities on the ground as far as the Tigers were concerned became manifest when India had conceded to holding a referendum on the major issue of merger of the two Provinces, so considered vital to the Tiger views of a single traditional Homeland. Soon after signing the Accord the Sri Lankan government openly sponsored active mass scale Sinhala colonisation under the guise of resettlement of displaced refugees, it was confirming Tiger suspicions of making the merger of the North and East empty and dubious. The reaction of the Tigers was swift and ferocious. Official propaganda only made it worse.

Extremist elements on either side saw the opportunity of torpedoing the Accord for more reasons than one. What was described as a cache of arms – up-to-date neither the Sri Lankans nor the Indians have revealed or displayed the haul of arms – intercepted in the Palk Strait by the Sri

continued opposite

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POINT OF VIEW

A. S. Abraham Writes:

TO SAVE THE ACCORD
No Option but to Crackdown

IT IS UNFORTUNATE that the Indian Peace-keeping Force (IPKF) should have had no option but to crackdown on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in order to save the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord. Those who choose to oversimplify the situation by saying that the IPKF has been inveigled by a wily President Jayewardene into doing his dirty work for him need to be reminded of just how things came to such a sorry pass.

An Accord between Tamil militant groups, especially the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government would without doubt have been a better deal than one between Colombo and New Delhi. But, for various reasons, that did not materialise, despite India's best efforts for years. The LTTE was intransigent all the time and the Sri Lankan government ambivalent and dilatory. The prospect was that Sinhalese and Tamils would continue to kill one another. What obtained until the Accord was a bloody and protracted stalemate. Throughout this period, New Delhi's support for the militants was more or less unqualified, though it was committed to preserving the unity of the island republic. It sought through diplomatic means to pressure Colombo to abandon the search for a military solution and to pursue a political one instead. India was reasonably successful in compelling Colombo to suspend its military operations in Jaffna.

Military Offensive

Had the LTTE been prepared to give up its ambitions of carving out an independent Eelam, comprising Sri Lanka's northern and eastern provinces, it might have been possible to get Colombo and the militants to sign an Accord. It was the LTTE's persistence in wanting nothing less than an independent Tamil state that finally made New Delhi reach an agreement with Colombo under which the latter made substantial concessions to the Tamil minority and called off its military offensive against the militants.

It has been forgotten now that New Delhi's main consideration in signing the Accord was to prevent the decimation not only of the Tamil militants, but also of innocent Tamil men, women and children. Having signed the Accord, the security of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka became New Delhi's responsibility, and it naturally felt it could count on the support of the militants, not least the LTTE, to help it in this task. Under the Accord, Sri Lankan troops were to return to their barracks while the militants were to surrender their weapons so that the political arrangements set out in it could be followed up.

But from the word go, the LTTE was difficult. Even before the ink on the Accord had dried, it proclaimed its rejection of the Accord and its adherence to the goal of a separate Tamil Eelam. What is more its leaders went out of their way to say that any further loss of Tamil lives would be New Delhi's fault since New Delhi was not only a party to the agreement but also the guarantor of Tamil security.

Nor was the LTTE any more cooperative when it came to surrendering its weaponry. It is clear now that its leaders told nothing but lies when they maintained that they had surrendered their arms to the IPKF and had retained only a few small "personal" items. The full-scale conflict in which they are futilely engaged with the IPKF speaks eloquently of the vast amount of arms and ammunition of the most sophisticated nature that they had retained clandestinely in violation of the Accord and of their promises to help New Delhi implement it. Those who bewail the death of LTTE guerrillas at the IPKF's hands should not forget that IPKF personnel are being killed and injured by the array of equipment the LTTE had sworn again and again it had yielded up voluntarily as part of the agreement.

When it came to settling the interim political arrangements under the Accord, the LTTE again began (so it is now clear) to undermine the Accord. **It wanted to ensure that it was the dominant party in any such arrangement. This was not unreasonable, since it had emerged as the Tamil minority's main defender against the Sri Lankan army and so was entitled to gather the biggest share of the fruits of its struggle.** Because New Delhi was sympathetic on this score, it went out of its way to give the LTTE the controlling say it sought.

It was at this point that the LTTE's determination to demolish the Accord became manifest. It made one demand after another, including the ludicrous one to change its representative, after everyone had agreed on its previous nominee. Petulantly, it wanted to demonstrate that it alone called the shots. It also began to act as if only its writ would run in the north and east, and that, the Accord notwithstanding, Colombo or New Delhi could have no say in the matter. One must not also forget the ruthlessness with which it cut down rival militant groups like the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) and the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF). It had turned on these bodies once before, when the Sri Lankan army campaign against the militants was at its height, and it had no hesitation in doing so again. It wanted nothing less than complete control and the sole right to speak for the Tamil minority.

Last Straw

The last straw on the IPKF camel's back was the resumption by the LTTE of indiscriminate attacks on the Sinhalese in the expectation that the IPKF would turn a blind eye to such atrocities. It has been argued by the LTTE's defenders that, had the IPKF prevented the transfer of 17 LTTE prisoners in its custody at Palaly in the Jaffna peninsula to the Sri Lankan government in Colombo, the subsequent suicide of 12 of them would not have taken place and, in turn, the LTTE would not have retaliated by killing some 200 Sinhalese, mostly civilians, in the northern and eastern provinces.

This is so pathetic a defence as to be unworthy of rebuttal. Nothing can justify the LTTE's murderous onslaught on Sinhalese civilians, whatever the provocation. As it happens, the IPKF had tried to prevent the transfer, but had had to yield to Colombo's insistence that the 17 men had violated its laws. But even if the IPKF had not lifted a finger to try and prevent the transfer, it could still never have justified the LTTE's retaliatory action, which was calculated to wreck the Accord by provoking a Tamil-Sinhalese bloodbath country-wide, including the central highland plantations where the Indian Tamils live, as well as an exodus of Tamils from the south of Sri Lanka to the north and a corresponding flight of Sinhalese from the east to the south.

Had this fiendish plan succeeded, Sri Lanka would have been faced with disintegration, especially since the Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP), the extreme-leftist and virulently anti-Tamil body, which had staged an abortive insurrection in 1971 and which India and other countries had helped to put down, was apparently waiting in the wings until it could emerge with the onset of anarchy. The choice for New Delhi was between, on the one hand, allowing the LTTE not merely to wreck the Accord but even to jeopardise Sri Lanka's integrity, and, on the other, bringing the LTTE to heel, saving the Accord, underwriting Sri Lanka's integrity and ensuring regional stability. It could not have made any other choice.

Any course of action entails costs and benefits. For New Delhi, the costs include IPKF casualties, the return of conflict to the north and east just when people there were beginning to forget the horrors of years of ethnic strife and some degree of opposition in Tamil Nadu, most of it, as the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam-led anti-IPKF agitation shows, expediently motivated. These costs can be minimised by the IPKF completing its operations quickly. Encouragingly, with the IPKF's rapid advance into the LTTE strongholds, the end is within sight. The LTTE leader, Mr. V. Prabhakaran, having written to Mr. M. Karunanidhi, the DMK leader, seeking the resumption of negotiations, has also written to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi asking him to call off the IPKF offensive and pledging LTTE support in carrying out the Accord "so far as it is in the interests of the Tamils". But the operation cannot be called off unless the LTTE cooperates unconditionally.

From the beginning, India has had every good reason to be involved in the Sri Lanka ethnic conflict and to be the sole mediator in the search for a solution. At one time, when it seemed as if forces outside the region and inimical to India were beginning to play a conspicuous role, New Delhi made sure they were kept out and that it retained the initiative. The Accord with Sri Lanka bears forth the considerable benefits of its success. It cannot now scuttle all that merely because a rogue Tamil group, whose very rise to prominence was made possible by India's protection, should choose to obstruct the Accord's fruition. Do those who criticise what the IPKF has been forced to do want New Delhi to withdraw and allow the foreign powers and agencies it had so scrupulously worked to keep out to return and decide Sri Lanka's fate?

Instability in Sri Lanka means instability for India; the whole sorry history of the ethnic conflict proves this. But maintaining regional stability and independence has a price, and India must be prepared to pay it.

Times of India, October 16, 1987

Halt This Fratricide

continued from page 12

Lankan navy, and seventeen Tigers captured in mid-seas, were detained at the Palaly base in Jaffna, under the control of the Indian command. Why Sri Lanka wanted these men in Colombo for further interrogation when they were already being dealt with in terms of the Accord or why India should have succumbed to pressure when they were already being seen as overtly overbending to Sri Lanka, only time will tell.

It was a calamity that was precipitated without taking due account of Tamil feelings or Tiger resolve. The cyanide the Tigers took was a powder keg that blew. It was fury and impetuosity that people of mature wisdom should have taken cognisance of.

To interpret this show of anger and consequent wild behaviour as evidence, adequate to mount the military might to liquidate the very force that the Tamil community is indebted to and born and bred in its own soil – is to argue against Tamil freedom and conspire to root out what the Sinhala Governments could only see as "Terrorism".

Scrutator

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ROLE OF INDIA'S PEACEKEEPERS:

A Peace That Passeth All Understanding

BY BRYAN JOHNSON

Globe and Mail Correspondent, Toronto, reports from Colombo on 14 October

A steady rain of mortar fire from Jaffna's ancient Dutch Fort has killed at least 100 civilians since Sunday, according to a Red Cross official who telephoned the Canadian High Commission yesterday.

The official, whose call was cut off as he promised to "verify another 60 civilian deaths in the surrounding area," said the beleaguered town in northern Sri Lanka had been "under constant shelling from the fort area and other military camps."

Bala Subramanian of the Jaffna Red Cross said the local hospital "simply can't cope" with the flood of injured and dying Tamil rebels and civilians. He said doctors had performed 166 operations on Monday, as Indian troops fought to dislodge militants deeply entrenched in their home base.

An Indian spokesman confirmed last night that its forces were using 120-millimetre mortars against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, who still control the town. As usual, he said he had "no figures on civilian casualties, if any".

After four days of fierce fighting, the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) says it has killed 200 Tigers, losing only 27 of its own men. India's spokesman in Colombo acknowledged, however, that the offensive is virtually stalled on the outskirts of Jaffna. "The attempt is to encircle Jaffna town," Lakshmi Puri said at a press briefing. "The IPKF is trying to advance from a number of positions, but is meeting strong resistance. It is advancing slowly towards its objectives."

Other sources said one Indian column had been stopped at Chunnakam, about nine kilometres north of Jaffna. An eyewitness told one reporter by telephone that "there is an enormous battle raging there. They (the Indians) are strafing. . . but they can't push through. Dozens of bodies are lying around, and many of them are civilians.

A Sri Lankan military source said last night that 29 "horribly hacked" bodies of Indian soldiers had been dumped by Tamil rebels at a Buddhist temple in Jaffna. He estimated total Indian casualties at more than 60 and said at least 500 Tamils had died. There was no immediate confirmation of his report.

India's 15,000-man Peacekeeping Force began its offensive on Saturday after the Tigers had formally rejected the Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord and killed almost 200 Buddhist Sinhalese in Sri Lanka's eastern district in three days.*

The Accord, signed on July 29, was billed as a diplomatic solution to a four-year guerrilla war that pitted Hindu Tamils against the Buddhist majority. The Tamils were to receive limited autonomy under the pact, in return for a cessation of hostilities and surrender of their arms. The Sri Lankan military was confined to its barracks in disputed areas.

Indian soldiers — supported by tanks, armoured personnel carriers, air cover, artillery and the 120-mm mortars — are advancing on the town of Jaffna on five fronts, according to Sri Lankan military sources. They also control the Dutch Fort in the town's centre, but are trapped inside, unable to do more than lob mortar shells from it.

The Indian spokesman charged that the Tigers are forcing civilians to act as human shields against Indian troops, to carry grenades and ammunition boxes and to help remove the dead or injured fighters.

Mrs. Puri also said "no offensive air operations are being used to provide cover. This is a conscious decision, taken quite deliberately to avoid harming civilians." She said the Peacekeeping Force was even prepared to absorb extra casualties to save civilian lives.

That assertion, however, was directly contradicted by the Jaffna Red Cross phone call to the Canadian High Commission and by other first-hand accounts phoned from the battle zone.

Mr. Subramanian told Canadian diplomats that helicopter gunships had been firing in the town both yesterday and Monday. A Western military analyst also dismissed India's expressions of concern for civilians. "The 120-mm mortar is very large," he said. "If you start using mortars, you're talking about an area weapon, not a precision one. There is no doubt that there would be a lot of civilian casualties."

The analyst, who has commanded in insurgency battles, said India's reported casualty figures were "very high for this kind of an operation. That may indicate that it is not going terribly well."

According to India's own account, its army is using tanks and armoured personnel carriers mainly to transport soldiers through areas filled with land-mines and booby traps. The tanks fire their cannons, "only to neutralise LTTE bunkers and their strongholds in buildings."

India has dropped leaflets on the area, asking civilians to move to the refugee centres set up in temples and colleges. A shoot-on-sight curfew is periodically lifted to allow compliance, but there are no reliable estimates on how many have left their homes.

**Another statistic presumably from the same 'Sri Lankan military source'. Ed.*

JR Manipulates India to Colonise Tamil Homeland

There are already disquieting signs that the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord has begun to run into snags.

Reports say that attempts are being made to expedite the settlement of Sinhalese on 2,500 acres in Mullaitivu.

The Government is reportedly planning to settle Sinhalese in Mundhirikulam and the areas round Dollar and Kent Farm.

To implement this scheme a special project has been started in Welioya and a Sinhalese has been appointed Additional Government Agent.

The Mullaitivu Citizens' Committee and high Government sources have confirmed these reports.

These sources say that more than 20 years ago Tamils were given lands in these areas on a long term lease basis. After Black July 1983 the Tamils settled here, fled these areas and sought shelter elsewhere due to the military operations carried out by the State. Up to now these Tamil colonists have not been able to return to their settlements as the situation is still unsettled.

After the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord was signed, plans had been formulated to settle Sinhalese colonists in these areas.

Similarly in Suriyanaru close to Kokkuthoduvai, about 1,500 acres which had been allotted to Tamils under a middle class scheme are being forcibly reallocated to Sinhalese settlers with the help of the Security Forces.

Again in the Kokkulai area 80 houses were allocated to Tamils more than 20 years ago. They were forced to flee the area abandoning their houses due to military activities. Now these houses are being forcibly taken over by Sinhalese colonists.

A special vesting order has been made to settle 250 Sinhalese families on 53 acres in Nayaru East and West where Tamils had been settled earlier.

The Citizens' Committee says that Home Guards and the Armed Forces are destroying the houses earlier occupied by Tamils in Kokkulai, Kokkuthoduvai and Karunattukerni.

In Trincomalee the reports indicate that the Sri Lankan armed forces are continuing to harass the Tamil people.

The Trincomalee District Liberation Tiger representative has complained to the commander of the Indian Peacekeeping Force in the district about this harassment. But apparently no action has been taken so far. These developments indicate that there is no room for complacency just because an Accord has been signed on paper.

What is India going to do about all this?

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I.P.K.F. AT WAR WITH THE TAMILS

INDIA COMMANDEERS CIVILIAN AIRPLANES

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT commandeered more than a dozen civilian airplanes on Thursday to transport an estimated 3,000 to 4,000 additional army and paramilitary troops to Sri Lanka amid reports on increased fighting with Tamil rebels in the northern Jaffna peninsula.

The commandeering of the planes resulted in the cancellation of many domestic flights of Indian Airlines, the government's internal carrier. Chaos was reported at Indian airports as passengers were stranded.

Officials have refused to say how many Indian troops are now in Sri Lanka, but the number was understood to be in the range of 20,000 and perhaps as high as 25,000.

A government official in New Delhi on Thursday night said that because of the Indian Army's "tight position" in Sri Lanka, the civilian planes were needed to transport troops there.

Indian newspaper editorials and most public comment has been supportive of Mr. Gandhi's decision to use force against the Tamils. *International Herald Tribune, October 16*

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Tamil Stronghold called 'MADHOUSE'

JAFFNA IS A PANIC-STRICKEN TOWN of empty houses and looted shops, where teenaged Tamil Tigers exist on junk food and the civilian population has only one goal; to stay alive.

That, at least, is the picture painted by scores of refugees who have begun to reach the Sri Lankan capital from the besieged northern peninsula. After enduring a week-long Indian offensive and a 16-hour journey on a rickety bus, one exhausted student described the experience as "an escape from a nightmare."

The 21 year-old commerce student at Jaffna University said his town has become a "madhouse", where "no more people are left in the houses and everyone is trying to find some refuge. The main aim is to save your life.

He said thousands of people were streaming from the main town, either to find shelter in refugee camps or flee the peninsula entirely. Despite Indian claims that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam are using civilians as a "human shield" and preventing their exit, the student said his busload of 43 people had little trouble getting away. "There were (Tiger) checkpoints along the way", he said. "But we were never stopped for long."

"They told me they will fight to the last breath of their life," the bus driver said, "Because they did not want their country to be invaded by the Indians".

He reported female militants, in blue jeans, cheerfully raising their assault rifles in a gesture of defiance, as his bus passed. The suicidal tendency of the Tamil Tigers is already well known. Most of the guerrillas proudly hang a cyanide capsule around their necks, and 13 LTTE cadres recently swallowed the poison after capture by the Sri Lankan military.

The refugees confirmed Indian reports that roughly 375,000 people – half the peninsula's population – have left their homes. But only 40,000 or 50,000 have apparently been accommodated in refugee camps.

The Indians had begun their drive last Saturday by blowing up the offices of the LTTE newspaper, "Eela Murasu (The Drum of Eelam) but the rebels' propaganda wing is obviously still active. The driver had a Monday edition of the paper, apparently printed elsewhere, and many refugees say the "Voice of Tigers" blackboards still display daily news flashes at most of Jaffna's major intersections.

Toronto Globe and Mail, 19 October, 1987

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Indian troops capture key rebel base

India said yesterday it had sent more than 1,500 extra troops into battle against Sri Lankan Tamil rebels and announced from New Delhi that a Tamil base in the besieged port city of Jaffna had been captured.

Estimates of the Indian peacekeeping force's total strength range from 16,000 to 25,000. Indian officials estimate that Jaffna is being defended by 2,500 Tigers.

Political observers said that despite the advance in the city's east, the troops were several kilometres from the centre of Jaffna, where electricity has been cut off and an estimated 130,000 civilians face food shortages.

"Artillery is being used very sparingly and only when there is stiff resistance from entrenched positions in built-up areas," a spokesman said. Describing the Indian assault as "fighting with our hands tied behind our backs" for fear of civilian casualties, the spokesman said: "The simplest thing would be a lightning strike to raze the whole thing to the ground.

Toronto Globe & Mail, 19 October, 1987

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Indians and Tamils Both Claim Control of Jaffna

TENS OF THOUSANDS of civilians have become refugees in their own city. About 50,000 were huddled for safety in and around the large Hindu Nallur temple.

A Tamil leader put guerrilla losses in the offensive at 51. He said that 300 Indian troops and another 300 civilians had been killed. The Indian High Commission in Colombo said Wednesday that 607 rebels had been killed and more than 280 captured. Indian losses were put at 127 dead, 379 wounded and 27 listed as missing.

Neither set of figures could be confirmed independently.

A guerrilla commander identified only as Yogi said that "In world history guerrilla fighters are not defeated and we won't be either".

"We can last till we are killed".

International Herald Tribune, 22 October, 1987

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Eye Witnesses reveal Tigers' strength

THE FIRST INDEPENDENT eye-witnesses of the Indian Army offensive in the northern Sri Lankan town of Jaffna were back in Colombo last night, having been smuggled in and out of the beleaguered city by Tamil guerrilla fighters.

The BBC correspondent, Mr. Philip Jones, said last night that his most abiding impression was that Jaffna was a city of refugees, "the place is crowded out with them", he said. "There are 300,000 of them there, sleeping rough and in Hindu temples. They have been chased from place to place by the fighting.

Mr. Jones and his colleagues visited the main temple where refugees are living, saw the state of the town's principal hospital, which had been hit by shells seven times during the offensive, and toured the university campus, where a paratroop landing by the Indian forces was cut to pieces by the Tigers. They also saw civilian casualties in the hospital and were shown two dead children.

The local citizens said that after Indian paratroops had been killed following an abortive air drop on the university, the troops who rescued them took terrible revenge on the nearby civilians, killing 40 of them. Mr. Jones, reporting the comments of a doctor at the hospital said that in the first eight days of the fighting 472 civilian casualties had been brought in. "Seventy-five dead bodies were brought in too", he said.

The Times, 22 October, 1987

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Tigers 'Still in Control' of Jaffna Stronghold

TAMIL TIGER GUERRILLAS remained in full control of Jaffna two days after India claimed its troops had moved into the town, according to the first Western reporter to visit the beleaguered port. He said that the Tigers seemed well supplied with arms, confident, and organised.

Other sources said yesterday that the Tigers had evolved a four-stage strategy. The first was confrontation, the second flanking attacks on the advancing troops. These tactics have already been put into deadly effect. The next phase, apparently is suicide missions, which the Tigers have proved in their earlier campaign against the Sri Lankan army, to be able and willing to mount. The fourth phase will be small-scale guerrilla attacks as described by Mr. Yogi.

The BBC reporter also saw something of the wretched conditions in Jaffna refugee centres, where scores of thousands are now huddled without shelter and with inadequate food and little water. The people there, he said, uniformly blamed the Indians for their plight.

In Jaffna hospital, too, there were primitive conditions: no oxygen, little medicine, and a rapidly diminishing supply of diesel fuel for the generator, which is the only way the hospital can cool its desperately small blood supply and carry out emergency operations.

The Guardian, October 22

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Casualties Mount

THERE ARE UNCONFIRMED reports that Major General Harikirat Singh, the Indian commanding the Indian force in the peninsula, has been removed from operational command because of his unsatisfactory performance.

A spokeswoman said: "operations have reached a certain stage of finality in Jaffna, so he has been called back to India for consultations."

Ronnie de Mel, Sri Lanka's Finance Minister and a leading supporter of the July Agreement, said yesterday that he would not rule out the Tigers coming back into the political process if they gave up their weapons and agreed to the conditions of the Peace Accord. He said: "I would support anything that ensures a lasting peace".

He told *The Independent:* "I would always negotiate with the real representatives of the Tamil people – my difficulty is that it is not easy to identify who they are in the present conditions. If it is the Tigers, it would be useful to talk with them as it is useless to talk with stooges or puppets.

The Independent, October 22

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TWO HARROWING WEEKS IN JAFFNA

The Indo – Sri Lankan Peace Accord of July 1987 meant for me that I could make my long-awaited trip back to Jaffna to visit my parents and all my folks.

I arrived in a calm and peaceful Jaffna on September 25, 1987. Thileepan's fast was on, protesting the failure of implementation of the Accord, the continuing accelerated colonisation programme being carried out by the Sri Lankan Government and the delay in setting up the interim Government. His subsequent martyrdom on September 26, 1987 had a profoundly emotional impact on everyone and tears of real anguish flowed freely. In spite of this and in spite of recognising political difficulties ahead, there was a general air of confident stability.

After years of living under war conditions peace had brought about great optimism. Delegations from foreign aid organisations had been visiting Jaffna, tourists were in the hotels, surveyors were sighted measuring up to rebuild Jaffna town. We were to become like Singapore, so the story went.

On Saturday, 10 October, I was in Urimpirai visiting my in-laws, taking lots of photographs and having a very pleasant time. Distant rumbling noises were heard in the early afternoon but we simply dismissed it. My father, who was to have collected me in the evening to take me back home to Nallur, turned up by mid-afternoon with the news that there was shelling near the Fort and a curfew had been declared. It wasn't taken too seriously, but not wanting to take any chances we returned to Nallur early. It was probably just a bit of trouble near the Fort as usual, but nothing to worry about, we thought. After all we had not only the Peace Accord but the mighty Indian Peacekeeping Force itself to guarantee peace. No harm could possibly come.

The next day shells began to rain down. The Indian army was shelling Jaffna. It was on our houses and on our heads that these shells were falling. There was shocked disbelief. It could not be possible. It could not be the Indian Peacekeeping Force, who had been welcomed into our land with flowers, garlands and prayers.

The noise was deafening. All at home huddled together in a small part of the house which had a concrete roof under the fragile belief that it afforded marginally more protection than a tiled roof.

We learned the next day that at least fourteen people had died during the course of that evening alone in the immediate vicinity of our house, and around Pilaiyar Kovil which itself had taken about seven direct hits causing massive destruction. The headless trunks of a woman and a young girl had been sighted by a relative coming to see if we were all right.

Later people in the neighbourhood had to be brought in to identify the two from their clothing. In one house a family of six had been killed instantly and in another four people from a family had died. The list of injuries was long. An apothecary, a kind and helpful man to whom everyone went, had lost a leg. A teacher's wife, a young woman, had lost an arm. An old, blind diabetic man had shrapnel wounds on his back which had swollen up grotesquely. A few people who had taken shelter by a brick wall had their bodies sprayed and splattered across the broken wall.

DR. CHELLIAH: *relatives and friends were among the dead.*

The curfew and fear and lack of transport precluded all talk of funerals. Those who were lucky were bundled up in sacks and dumped in the hospital morgue. For others where there were long delays before being cleaned up, crows were sighted on trees eating human flesh.

That was the beginning of the Indian invasion. From the time the shelling started till the time I escaped out of Jaffna on 22 October, it didn't stop. Day and night, every day during those twelve days, I lived with the possibility of being blown to smithereens. My only wish was for a quick death, if it had to be, rather than a slow and agonising one through injury – the Jaffna hospital was closed, there was no transport anyway and there would have been no bandages even, let alone medicines.

My other and equally great fear was to have someone near and dear to me splattered across my lap.

We lived in total isolation, because of the curfew and lack of movement, not knowing what was happening three miles down the road. No place within Jaffna was a safe place to escape to. The three designated refugee points (the Nallur Kovil, Hindu College and Hindu Ladies College) were filled to overflowing and people were fighting for standing space. At these places diseases were spreading in the filth and squalor and babies were dying of dysentery. Food supplies were running very low.

Surviving the shelling and the helicopter gunships and the bombing was one thing – facing the Indian troops after they got in was another. Isolated as we were we simply did not know what they would do once they actually came into our area. I left before that happened in Nallur.

In Colombo I found out about the point-blank machine gunning that had taken place at Urimpirai. Relatives I had been with and photographed on the day the shelling had started had been shot dead in cold blood by the Indian army some days later. Among them was a 72 year-old woman who had gone to open the door to let them in.

It is now over three weeks since India embarked on its military offensive against innocent civilians and yet the entire Northern province is totally sealed off, with no information coming out. They are said to be in control, the militant resistance has retired into the jungles and yet every escape route out of the North has been sealed. It can only mean one thing.

In the absence of outside observers and free flow of information India is carrying out large scale massacres of our people under the guise of mopping up of resistance. It is outright genocide. And we who have been reduced to a people who are no longer able to bury our dead, do not even know now who is alive and who is dead.

RAMANI CHELLIAH

Indian Troops Guard JRJ

SRI LANKAN PRESIDENT Junius Jayewardene, is being guarded by a crack contingent of around 150 Indian army commandos. The Sri Lankan President has requested protection from the Indian government because he no longer has full confidence in his own security set-up, it is learnt.

The Indian government not only fears for his life but also for the life of his government, as an army coup is seen as a distinct possibility by New Delhi.

In the event of an attempted coup, Indian troops stationed in Sri Lanka will come to the aid of the Sri Lankan President. They will even take on the Sri Lankan army if necessary and put down the coup.

'The Sunday Observer' (Bombay), 1 October, 1987

HALT ALL ATTACKS

"THE RAJIV-JAYEWARDENE Peace Accord is Dead,". said Rama Rao, Chief Minister of Andhra at the All-India Conference of Leaders held under the Chairmanship of Dr. Karunanithi, leader of the DMK on 25 October, 1987. Continuing, Mr. Rama Rao said, "We had long called upon the Indian army to intervene in Sri Lanka and protect the Tamils from Sinhala atrocities. But what we see now is that the Indian army is engaged in killing the Tamils and destroying Tamil property to an even worse extent than the Sinhalese."

The Conference called on the Indian army to halt all attacks on the Tamils and revert to its role as a keeper of the peace.

Tamil Nesan (Madras), 26 October, 1987

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Shaky Accord

Around the country there have been assassinations, thought to be by a radical Sinhalese nationalist group, of Sinhalese local government officials who openly supported the Accord. At the same time, President Junius R. Jayewardene, whom Indians not long ago said they found difficult and unpredictable to deal with, has suddenly become a public defender of New Delhi's policies and its troops.

For the Liberation Tigers and their leader, Velupillai Prabhakaran, the world has turned upside down several times this year. But then he overplayed his hand.

International Herald Tribune, October 15

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"BOMBED NOT BY US"

Slowly, refugees from the besieged town of Jaffna are trickling into the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo.

An old man, his already wrinkled face creased by exhaustion and tension, told me how he had lain on the floor of his house for four days, without food and water, as explosions and gunfire filled his ears.

Around him, houses were either destroyed by mortar fire or were burning; when he got to the temple, outside the city, he took shelter with thousands of other terrified Tamils.

But all refugees say that civilians died in air attacks carried out by helicopter gunships, firing rockets into the town. People had to shelter under Jaffna's forest of palm trees. The Indians say these air attacks were not carried out by them but by the miniscule Sri Lankan Air Force; the Sri Lankans say it was done at the request of the Indians. This is a war that has gone terribly wrong for all three parties involved in the fight. The big Indian assault is expected this weekend, and the Tiger leadership seems resigned to the inevitable defeat.

'Sunday Observer', October 18

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Rajiv's new time bomb ticking in Sri Lanka

There is a certain sardonic satisfaction among the Sinhalese majority of Sri Lanka, as the body count mounts in the north.

When the fighting is over, runs the current wishful thinking, the Sinhalese nation will be able once more to impose their majority will. This is self deception on a grand scale. The Indians came to Sri Lanka precisely to prevent any such thing.

Having committed so much blood and money to the military campaign, the Indians are certainly not going to hand over the fruits of victory to the government in Colombo. They came to Sri Lanka, they say, to sort out not just the Tamil militants, but, if necessary, the Sinhalese ones as well.

To that end, India is about to embark on one of the biggest population resettlements of modern times. More than 200,000 Tamil refugees – 130,000 in India, and another 90,000 in Sri Lanka – are to be sent back to their homes mostly in the eastern province. It will, almost certainly, mean confrontation with the Sinhalese "colonists" who have been pushing into the east, especially round the port of Trincomalee which links the exclusively Tamil north with the ethnically mixed east.

Indian officials are extraordinarily blunt about their aims and their determination. There will be self government for the united north and east provinces, they say. There will be full resettlement of the Tamil refugees. If the Sri Lankans intervene, they will be met with force. This has literally explosive implications for the south.

When Indian intentions in the east become more plain, all the ancient Sinhalese prejudice will be revived. It could turn the Tamil Tigers, in their eyes, from the prime villains into Sri Lankan resistance heroes.

'The Guardian', October 30

MEDIA REPORTS

TIGER BY THE TAIL

Barely 10 weeks after Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene put their signatures to an Accord designed to bring peace to the troubled island, India's role in that process has acquired alarming overtones.

And by last fortnight, in what is the ultimate irony, the IPKF was sucked into a full-scale battle against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the most dominant militant Tamil group on the island. That could be an overture to a diplomatic and even military disaster.

The official death count after New Delhi gave the green signal for the IPKF to launch an offensive against the Tigers, is an estimated 250 Tamil militants, mostly LTTE men, killed and 500 injured. On the other hand, 18 IPKF personnel lost their lives and 79 have been injured. But the fact that 300 people have died in three days of fighting is an alarming indicator.

Some 40,000 trembling residents huddled into schools, colleges, temples and public buildings.

Within three days of "full-fledged operations", some 500 suspected LTTE members have been taken into custody. Two ordnance factories of the Tigers were destroyed and arms as well as ammunition recovered. Over 400kg of explosives that were unearthed in the eastern province have been destroyed. Moreover, the printing presses of newspapers — Eelamurasu and Murasoli — which the Tamil Tigers were running in Jaffna, were also blown up by the IPKF.

Tamil Tigers with cyanide capsules.

The Indian action was not confined to Sri Lankan soil. In search and raid operations on LTTE offices launched simultaneously in Tamil Nadu, six powerful radio transmitters were seized in an attempt to break their communications network. The IPKF is now engaged in a concentrated manhunt for senior LTTE leaders.

Meanwhile, Prabhakaran has remained elusive. From his Jaffna hideout, he sent a message to Rajiv Gandhi via his Madras office, asking him to stop the Indian army offensive. "The offensive of your army and directed against us violates the peace agreement and can cause grave consequences".

Having taken a stand in the face of mounting criticism from the Jayewardene Government, it is unlikely the offensive will be called off. ***But it is a battle that will be difficult to win since it now involves virtually the entire Tamil population in Sri Lanka.***

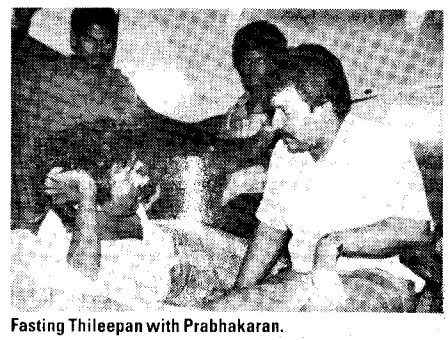
The danger of alienating the Tamils in the northern and eastern provinces is already evident in their sullen mood and the hatred with which they now view the IPKF.

Said a 50 year-old Jaffna Tamil businessman, who managed to escape from the peninsula to Colombo after the battle outbreak: "Fourteen innocent Tamil people were killed outside, the Kailasa Pilliar Koil near Nallur in Jaffna, in an exchange of fire between IPKF personnel and the Tigers. Only eight Tigers were killed in the shoot-out. This should give an idea about the increased proportion of civilian killings".

The current situation offers tailor-made fodder for the opponents of the Accord who are becoming more vocal in their criticism. Says Anura Bandaranaike, leader of the Opposition Sri Lankan Freedom Party in Parliament: "The Indian Army is like the Trojan horse. We accepted them and expected them to bring peace, and they then started watching as our people were butchered. President Jayewardene has appealed to the Indians to do their duty or quit. But they won't quit. They have come here to stay. They won't take the President's orders."

The large-scale civilian massacre by the LTTE was a sequel to the IPKF bungle in allowing the Sri Lankan Government to try and transport 17 LTTE members— intercepted by the Sri Lankan navy off Point Pedro, in a boat reportedly stacked with arms and ammunition—to Colombo for trial.

The Tigers, however, had threatened grave consequences if the men were taken to Colombo, where they feared they would be tortured or killed. The Indian authorities could have stopped the transfer and Dixit apparently tried to convince Jayewardene but failed. The result was tragic—all 17 detenues consumed cyanide. Twelve, including Kumarappa and Pulendran died, while the other five were in intensive care at the IPKF hospital in Palaly.



Fasting Thileepan with Prabhakaran.

In fact, New Delhi's dealing with the Tigers has been a series of grievous blunders, specially in the last month. It under-estimated the exponential propaganda effect of Amirthalingam Thileepan's fast in September, in Jaffna.

IPKF sources say that their orders are to go all out, at least for the next week or two, to ensure that the militants are disarmed and key leaders of the LTTE apprehended. But India's decision to go in for a military short-cut rather than a mixture of the carrot and the stick, could yet prove to be its biggest bungle in a situation where there have already been too many.

Excerpts from 'India Today', October 31, 1987

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Everyone for a Ride!

By Gamini Navaratne

IN ITS 1977 general election manifesto, the United National Party led by Mr. J. R. Jayewardene acknowledged that the Tamil people of Sri Lanka had grievous grievances as regards higher education, state jobs, land settlement and the use of their language for public business.

Very significantly, it was the first time that any Sinhalese political party publicly acknowledged this stark reality.

The UNP gave a solemn pledge that if elected to office it would convene an all-party conference to redress the grievances.

Unfortunately for everyone concerned, it took ten years for the UNP Government to get to grips with the situation.

The final result has been the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord signed by President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in Colombo on July 29, 1987, under which it is proposed to carry out a radical devolution of state power, amounting to the grant of regional autonomy to the Tamil people in their traditional homelands in the northern and eastern provinces.

All the militant groups, except the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, have accepted that the proposals embodied in the Accord go a long way to satisfy the aspirations of the Tamil people. So also the main Tamil political party, the Tamil United Liberation Front.

GAMINI NAVARATNE has been Editor of Saturday Review, published in Jaffna, for the past four years. He took over from Mr. S. Sivanayagam when he was virtually compelled to leave the country. Mr. Navaratne has valiantly espoused the Tamil cause; one of the very few Sinhalese journalists to have done so.

The LTTE's position is that it was not consulted during the drafting of the Accord; that it was not a signatory to it; that, in fact, the Accord was thrust on the Tamil people by India.

The LTTE, according to its leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, will not settle for anything less than complete independence for the Tamil people from the Sinhalese.

The Accord envisaged, among other things, the total surrender of arms by the militant groups, the release of nearly 6,000 Tamil youths detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the formation of a nominated interim government to prepare the way for elections, by December 31, 1987 the latest, to a provincial council linking the northern and eastern provinces.

The unfortunate events since early October have shattered the hopes of everyone who had hoped that the Accord would at last bring peace to the land.

Indian troops, brought in with President Jayewardene's agreement as a peacekeeping force to ensure the implementation of the Accord, have behaved in a more brutal fashion than even the Sinhalese Army, whatever the provocation.

As one who has worked very hard behind the scenes to bring about a settlement of the ethnic conflict, I am saddened by the turn of events.

India, it now seems, has taken everyone, including President Jayewardene, for a ride. The unassailable and unpalatable fact is that India has finally gained hegemony over Sri Lanka.

What a sad end to the heroic national liberation struggle of the Tamil people!

CIVILIAN KILLINGS BY INDIANS

INDIAN COMMANDOS ATTACKED a Tamil Tiger stronghold in the hitherto peaceful north-west of the Jaffna peninsula yesterday, claiming to have killed at least 25 rebels in a battle that raged all day.

There have been persistent reports that Mr. Prabhakaran was wounded in recent fighting. But one story that he was seen a few days ago limping away from a hospital in the north-eastern Vadamaradchi district is discounted by Tamil sources. They point out that his security is so tight that he would never go to hospital, but rather summon doctors to him, for treatment. The Indians say they killed at least 25 Tigers, though no figures for their own casualties were available. They also claim to have captured large quantities of arms and ammunition, and to have destroyed many heavily fortified bunkers.

However, the last time they claimed to have killed a large number of Tigers, eyewitnesses said many of the dead were civilians. But there have been cases, in both the Jaffna peninsula and the Eastern Province, in which independent reports strongly indicate that civilians unconnected with the Tigers have been deliberately killed.

Meanwhile President Junius Jayewardene is to hold talks in Delhi today with the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. President Jayewardene had earlier indicated the two would discuss the question of a treaty between Sri Lanka and India on defence and foreign relations. *'The Guardian', November 4, 1987*

MEDIA REPORTS

Gandhi Riding Several Tigers

The seemingly intractable fighting in Sri Lanka irritated New Delhi because of the example it set for separatist groups in India, notably the Sikhs in Punjab, and because of the support among Tamils in southern India for their brethren across the narrow Palk Strait in Sri Lanka.

The Indian presence has made the political situation in Sri Lanka highly volatile. The government may be unable to contain future Sinhalese protests. Democracy could be destabilised.

If the fighting drags on, Mr. Gandhi will face political problems at home. Up to now, his Sri Lankan policy has had broad support among the Indian public *(except for Tamils)*. But how many Indian soldiers will come home in coffins before the policy will be openly attacked?

What New Delhi should do is declare a unilateral ceasefire and invite the Tamils to a new round of talks. At the same time, a multilateral peacekeeping body is needed, consisting perhaps of a Commonwealth force of troops from other Asian states. Its presence could offer much needed insulation and allay suspicions that India is seeking to impose its influence on Sri Lanka.

Mr. Gandhi has a few other options. Failure to act soon would compound a tragedy that has cost thousands of lives and shattered the tranquility of a region with tremendous potential.

International Herald Tribune, 22 October

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INDIA'S HOPE OF PLACATING THE TAMILS IS A MIRAGE. . .

"May I make it quite clear that we are not at war. *We do not have a military objective. If that idea has filtered down to you, please remove it. We are involved in a political-military task".*

This assertion by General A. S. Kalkat, acting commander of India's troops in the Jaffna peninsula may be accurate in a legalistic sense but neither the Tamil Tigers, the Tamil civilian population, nor even the Indian troops themselves appear to believe it. No such speculation is possible from the estimated 1,000 people on all sides who have died in the past three weeks from the Indian action. Accurate figures for Indian troops are hard to come by – the best estimates range from 16,000 to 25,000.

The general assessment is that the Indian forces are in a terrible mess. Officials will tell you confidently that they have achieved one of their prime objectives by default – namely, the disarming of the Tamil Tigers by virtue of capturing several of their biggest arms dumps. The Tigers, however, are past masters at smuggling arms from abroad.

As the occasional journalists' forays into rebel held territory have shown, the town was never effectively sealed until after the Tigers had fled, taking their small arms.

The Indian hope is that the Tamil population will eventually blame the Tigers for causing the renewed chaos and violence, and that the Indians will defuse any temporary anger by assisting in the rehabilitation of the bruised peninsula. No one can confidently predict the success of this scenario but already the association in civilian minds of the Indians as protectors and saviours has been badly battered.

The Indians are rapidly losing freedom of movement and are increasingly at the mercy of the Tigers. It is the latter who can determine the pace of the action, not the Indian army – and the Tigers show no desire to surrender either their arms or their dream of Eelam, their separate Tamil state.

'The Independent', 29 October

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INDIAN REACTIONS

Tamil Nadu Leaders Appeal For Peace

TWO LEADING INDIAN Tamilian politicians have appealed for an end to the bloodshed in Sri Lanka and called for a negotiated settlement to the island's problems.

The parliamentary leader of Tamil Nadu's ruling, All India Dravida Munetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) party, P. Kolundaivelu, has appealed to the President and Prime Minister to intervene to "save the Tamils" *(in Sri Lanka)* from massacre.

"Stop the killing of Tamil militants by the Indian Peacekeeping Force in Jaffna. . . the clashes between militants and the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) is unwarranted," Mr. Kolundaivelu said in telegrams to Ramaswamy Venkatarman and Rajiv Gandhi.

In Madras, the President of the opposition Dravida Munetra Kazhagam (DMK) party, Mr. Karunanidhi has called for an immediate cessation of the present "war" between the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and demanded that the LTTE be called for negotiations.

Describing the IPKF's offensive against the LTTE as "unbearable", Mr. Karunanidhi said the DMK would hold "protest demonstrations" across Tamil Nadu and organise meetings to condemn the Indian Government's attitude towards Sri Lanka's problems.

☆ ☆ ☆

CALL FOR HUMANITY

THE DMK PRESIDENT, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, said that the only and immediate way to restore peace in Sri Lanka is for the Indian Government and the Indian Peacekeeping Force on the island to treat with a spirit of humaneness the Tamils in Sri Lanka. At this crucial time when the ethnic strife is taking grim dimensions, the Government of India must adopt a humanitarian attitude towards the Tamils, he said.

Answering questions from press-persons on the DMK stand on the Eelam issue, Mr. Karunanidhi said the establishment of a separate Eelam was the goal of the Tamil Tigers. The DMK had no second opinion to offer on this goal.

The DMK leader said the "Indo-Sri Lankan Accord as far as I am concerned, is an altar of sacrifice *(bali peetam)* built to sacrifice the interests of Tamils in the island".

'The Hindu', October 17, 1987

☆ ☆ ☆

Head hunting

"THE INDIAN ARMY is aiming at Prabhakaran's head. If anything should happen to him Tamil Nadu would not be able to bear it and an uncontrollable river of blood would flow here," warns Kalimuthu, Assistant Secretary-General of ADMK and a former Minister of the State government. He further called upon the Indian government to accept Prabhakaran's offer of talks and halt its military offensive on Jaffna.

Thinamani (Madras), 19 October, 1987

SRI LANKAN REFUGEES REQUIRED TO RETURN

ALL SRI LANKAN REFUGEES, staying outside the camps set up by the Tamil Nadu Government, have been asked to report to the office of the District Collector along with all the documents like Sri Lankan passport, identification card etc., by December 31 to facilitate their return and resettlement in Sri Lanka.

According to an official announcement, those who fail to report by December 31 and continue to remain in India will be treated as illegal aliens and proceeded against in terms of the Registration of Foreigners Act.

Under the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement of July 29, all Sri Lankan refugees who came to India in the wake of ethnic disturbances, particularly after July 24, are required to return to Sri Lanka. Steps have already been initiated to send back the refugees staying in the camps.

Tamil Refugees in Madras await a decision by India on whether they will be returned to Sri Lanka.

The Centre feels that those outside the camps should also return to Sri Lanka. According to the records maintained by the Tamil Nadu Government, a little over 95,000 refugees are staying outside the camps in the different districts of the state.

The concessions available for the refugees returning home include free sea passage and journey allowance. Those in possession of expired return air ticket vouchers will have the facility of getting them revalidated by Indian Airlines. The refugees will be allowed to take along with them all movable properties, namely personal and household articles either brought along or acquired in India.

The wards of refugees who are pursuing courses of instruction whether technical or otherwise, will be afforded the facility of continuing their education in Sri Lanka without suffering the disability of any break. Cases of those wards who wish to pursue their studies in India will be examined on merits individually.

The Sri Lankan Government is offering a package of assistance amounting to a maximum of Rs.10,000 for various purposes to refugees returning to Sri Lanka. An upward revision of this amount is under consideration of the Sri Lankan Government.

'The Hindu' (IE), October 17, 1987

Letters to the Editor

IT IS INDEED gratifying to note that British justice has prevailed over bureaucratic sophistry in the matter of applications for political asylum in this country. Political exigency seems to blind the bureaucrats to humane considerations of an individual's plight. They decide each individual's case on the fallacious assumption that everyone who applies for political asylum does so for economic reasons and with the intention of circumventing the immigration laws and gaining permanent residence in this country.

It is a matter of regret that refugees are treated by the authorities as though they are rogues and liars. It is not correct that every asylum seeker does so with a view to hoodwink the authorities to gain a foothold in this country. Most of the cases, as far as the Sri Lankan Tamils are concerned, are genuine. They do not risk the expense of over Rs. 150,000 per person to come here just for the fun of it. They could very well live in comfort back in Sri Lanka with the colossal sum of money they spend to come to Britain if they could only be assured of their personal safety and security.

Bristol **S. K. VISVANATHAN**

"Indian Troops Overrun Jaffna, Rebel Flee"

THE BEST COUNSEL one can give Mr. Rajiv Gandhi at this stage of his encounter with the Tamil "tigers" is the same as Abe Lincoln's advice to a friend: *when you have got the tiger by his tail and he wants to run away, it's best to let him run.*

The "tigers" have returned to their jungle habitat and from there they will spring from time to time as it is opportune. The Accord gave the Tamils the bones while the two signatories *(the Indian lion and the Sri Lankan fox)* shared the choice prime meat.

Delhi says it is ready to begin political dialogue if the Tamil "tigers" lay down their "fangs" and obey the Accord.

It's too late for talking. The Tamil "tigers" perceive the Accord as a well constructed trap and many Tamils share this belief.

Manilla
28 October, 1987 **WILBUR SMITH**

INDIA NOT IN HURRY FOR ANOTHER TREATY

INDIA ATTACHES IMPORTANCE to the proposal for a treaty with Sri Lanka, a reference to which was made by the Sri Lankan president, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, yesterday but in the current situation, there are many other items of higher priority on the common agenda of the two countries.

Negotiating another treaty so soon after the finalisation of the earlier agreement with its annexure will unnecessarily distract attention from the main task before the two countries in the joint endeavour to restore peace in the island.

India is keen that the process of rehabilitation earlier started both by the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE should be now resumed soon. India is discussing arrangements and facilities for the return of the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees living in Tamil Nadu.

'The Times of India', 25 October, 1987

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Worldwide Protests Against Indian Atrocities

An Appeal to Prime Minister Gandhi from the Swedish Multi-Ethnic Society for Sri Lanka

SMES *is upset about the present deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka.*

As a Swedish-based voluntary group which is working towards ethnic harmony in a united Sri Lanka, we condemn and regard the killing of innocent Sinhalese civilians in the East of Sri Lanka by alleged militant groups as obscene.

We also condemn the Sri Lankan government's provocative methods of state-aided forceful colonising of "Tamil areas" with Sinhalese settlers, after the Peace Accord had been signed in July 1987.

We strongly urge your government that it should neither advocate violence in Sri Lanka through its ***peace*** *keeping force, nor play the role of subjugators of the Tamils. We fear that there will be a state of no return to peace in Sri Lanka, should the Indian peacekeeping forces continue to indulge in violence to curb one or the other party in the conflict.*

Lately, the Indian peacekeeping forces seem to have taken the role of the notorious Sri Lankan army, and thus degraded itself and lost its credibility with the people as peacekeeper.

We therefore suggest that the Indian army should be withdrawn immediately from Sri Lanka and subsequently substituted by a United Nations peacekeeping force, which hopefully paves the way to a lasting peace in the strife-torn country.

It is our strong belief that peace should be brought about by mutual co-operation between all parties involved and not by attempts to intimidate one or another party in the conflict.

ARU SANDANAM *(Chairman)*
SVEN-ÅKE AULIN *(Secretary)*

PEACE ACCORD – No Solution

Text of a resolution passed by the Ceylon Tamil Association Victoria, Australia.

The expatriate Tamil Community of Victoria after viewing the recent events in Sri Lanka, strongly believe the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord in the present form will not bring any reasonable solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. Therefore, we the Members of the Ceylon Tamil Association of Victoria, hereby declare our solidarity, unqualified support and recognition to the freedom fighters of Tamil Eelam for the courageous endeavour to preserve the security and integrity of our people.
We also request the Indian Government and its armed forces to allow foreign media and International Red Cross into the Jaffna peninsula and to stop forthwith the killings of Tamils and resume negotiations with the freedom fighters.

R. K. JEGANATHAN

2,000 MARCH PAST INDIA HOUSE

Tamils from throughout Britain marched through London to show solidarity with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) as the genuine representatives of the Tamil people in Sri Lanka. LTTE are engaged in a bitter struggle against over 8,000 Indian troops in Northern Sri Lanka.

In Tamil Nadu state in southern India, over 500,000 supporters of LTTE marched over the same weekend to demand an end to the Indian government's barbaric onslaught against Tamil civilians in the Sri Lankan city of Jaffna.

Despite the brutal attack on these Sri Lankan citizens in their own country by a foreign power the Sri Lankan government has remained silent on the "genocide". The Sri Lankan High Commission in London said no statement had yet been made by President Junius Jayewardene.

Asian Times, October 23, 1987

Jaffna University undergraduates killed. Students' Assembly appeals to Rajiv

Excerpts from a letter sent to Rajiv Gandhi by the Assembly on October 17

STARTING ON October 10 the military operation of the Indian security forces brought into this country for the special purpose of maintaining peace has resulted in:

A. The premises of the University of Jaffna being made a base for offensive operations against the LTTE and consequently:

1. The buildings including the laboratories and library were heavily damaged.

2. Forty-one civilians including 4 undergraduates have been killed.

3. The deaths resulted from civilians being kept as hostages by the Indian troops.

4. Houses in the vicinity of the University have been wrecked and over 50 civilians have been injured.

B. The presses publishing the two Tamil national dailies were bombed and destroyed but it is interesting to note that the mass media Rupavahini, Dhurdharshan and AIR have reported that these presses had been sealed. This is utterly false.

C. The fighting continues despite appeals from various organisations to the Indian High Commission to bring about a ceasefire.

D. As a result of the fighting to-date the following adverse effects have been caused:

1. Women, children and elderly people totalling 152 civilians have been killed as a result of continuous shelling from all directions and air raids by the joint Indian and Sri Lankan forces.

2. Over 400 civilians have been severely injured.

3. Over 350,000 people have been made homeless and housed in refugee camps.

4. Even the refugee camps were subject to shelling. Three civilians died following shelling at the Jaffna Hindu Ladies College and Jaffna Hindu College camps.

5. Even the Jaffna General Hospital, despite the display of the "Red Cross" sign on its roof, had been subject to attack by the Indian and Sri Lankan Forces. Also other essential services like electricity and water have been subject to heavy attack and as a result supply lines have been completely destroyed and the hospital service is completely paralysed.

6. Telecommunications, Postal, Transport and Banking services and fuel and food supplies have come to a halt.

7. As a result of the lack of facilities set out above, the refugees may die of starvation and, with the rainy season now on, epidemics are likely to set in if no proper and immediate action is taken to ensure food supply and maintenance of health and sanitary facilities.

It is generally felt among the members of the public that the attacks by the joint Indian and Sri Lankan Forces during the past week are the severest and much more severe than the atrocities by the Sri Lankan Forces alone during the past four years. It is our humble appeal that your Honour will intervene on humanitarian grounds and ensure that:-

a. Ceasefire is brought in with immediate effect

b. Normal life is restored to the North and East

Sgd. I. Arasaratnam
Secretary

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ACCORD GOES BEFORE SUPREME COURT

AS THE BATTLE for Jaffna ended, the government's "war" to defend the "Peace Accord" moved to another, equally important front – the Supreme Court. This week the full bench of the Supreme Court will hear petitions for and against the 13th amendment and the Provincial Councils Bill. The Attorney-General has returned post-haste to the island to present the Government's case.

To the layman, the main political issue that has emerged from the nationwide post – July 29 debate is the proposed North-East merger for a trial period of one year, and the referendum in the east at the end of that interim period. The critical issue in a word is the "franchise".

Can the voters of the Eastern province alone decide this and can they do so after a one-year trial period or must they do so, under the present constitution, simultaneously i.e., at the Provincial Council elections?

'Lanka Guardian', 15 October, 1987

RELATIONS BETWEEN LOCAL Tamil people and the Indian force appear to be rapidly worsening throughout Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka, where the soldiers are deployed. India says it has 14,000 troops in Sri Lanka, but unofficial estimates in Colombo and in New Delhi put the figure at 20,000 to 25,000.

The Indians, once public advocates of the Tamil cause and critics of the Sri Lankan government, were at first welcomed as peacekeepers who would underwrite a July 29 Accord designed to end a four year-old guerrilla war and bring Tamil militants into the political process in newly created autonomous areas in the north and east.

Now Tamil neighbourhoods are daily reporting acts of violence against civilians by Indian troops searching for guerrillas or their sympathisers.

Troops from the Indian army and commandos of the Central Police Reserve Force have refused to estimate civilian casualties in Jaffna, the base of the Tigers.

But residents fleeing the city all speak of the killing of men, women and children as the Indians advanced on the town with armoured personnel carriers and tanks, razing buildings along the route.

Jaffna's telephones are cut off and there is no electricity and little food. Many residents have fled to temples or schools, or are trying to escape the peninsula altogether.

In Batticaloa, reports are emerging daily about Indian revenge attacks on the Tamil village of Saturagunda after an Indian army convoy hit a land-mine, killing 20 to 25 troops.

'International Herald Tribune', October 20, 1987

Indian Civil Servants To Run Tamil Areas

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT has offered senior Tamil-speaking civil servants contracts of at least a year to help to administer areas of Sri Lanka in a move which will be seen as demonstrating that Delhi sees little chance of a speedy end to its peacekeeping role there.

Among the areas mentioned as possible postings were Trincomalee and Jaffna.

The induction of the civilian officers will put India's involvement on a new and what appears to be more permanent footing. Already the strength of the peacekeeping force has been raised from 5,000 soldiers to 35,000 now backed by armour.

The Times, October 24, 1987

Crack of India's whip fails to tame the Tigers

by Peter Hillmore

THE INDIAN ARMY has all but taken the city of Jaffna, stronghold of the Tamil Tigers, but in hideouts in houses all around the city the remnants of the rebel army are sitting tight.

It admits that its 'mopping-up operation' in Jaffna will take time, the Indians are moving slowly but inexorably across the whole Jaffna peninsula.

When news came of an explosion in the East which killed four soldiers, an army officer told me: 'That's how the war is going to go on from now – a few soldiers dying every day'.

The Tamils are divided into two groups, those who dislike the Indians and those who hate them (IPKF stands for Indian Peacekeeping Force), but bitter Tamil wits say it now means Innocent People-Killing Force.

Jayewardene gave a Press conference last Friday in which he offered yet another olive branch to the Tiger leadership. Although he said that the controversial plans for an interim administration in the North and East would be dropped, he repeated his offer of an amnesty and unconditional pardon to the Tigers if they laid down their arms. He even promised them 'a place in the democratic system'. This is hardly the language one would use to a defeated and demoralised opponent.

The politicians in Delhi and Colombo do not want to speculate on when the Indian Army can go back home, or what it is supposed to do if it stays.

The Observer, November 1, 1987

An Unfortunate Setback

THE INDO-SRI LANKAN Agreement seems to have entered an extremely difficult and problematical phase, with a defiant and now hostile LTTE choosing to fight the Indian Peacekeeping Force. The organisation had shown a great deal of reluctance in joining the peace process and indeed its leader, V. Prabhakaran, had declared that it was only their love of India that prompted them to accept the Indo-Sri Lankan Agreement.

Meanwhile, on the other side, the re-emergence of the hawkish Minister for National Security, Lalith Athulath-mudali, brought about a certain hardening of attitudes and a reckless-ness in the approach to the militants. The attempts to fly the LTTE leaders, captured in the sea, to Colombo for interrogation was a brazen and immensely provocative move, as their mass suicide and the orgy of killings that followed showed tragically. The Sri Lankan Government, or at least some part of it, clearly cannot escape the blame for the present pass.

It would seem, after all, that the Indian determination and earnestness in implementing the peace agreement is not matched or reciprocated by the parties on either side of the Sri Lankan ethnic divide.

The Sri Lankan Government has hardly kept to the spirit of the agreement and has been less than forthcoming on the substantive package of devolution of powers to the provincial councils. The Government of India has kept up the pressure on Colombo to meet the demands of at least the moderate Tamils but this has remained a little-known facet of its peace effort. It needs to make clear its stand and the efforts to upgrade the devolution package and counter any impression that it has been applying pressure one-sidedly on the Tamils.

'Frontline', October 17-31, 1987

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We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriages:-

RAVI *(son of Mr. & Mrs. S. Sivasubramaniam of Temple Road, Kokuvil)* & **SHANTHY** *(daughter of Mr. & Mrs. S. Amirthalingam of Kaddudai, Manipay) on October 31 in London. 26 Longford Gardens, Hayes, Middx.*

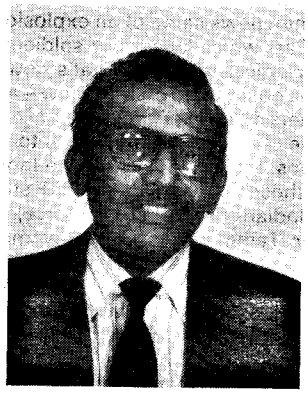
BALARAM *(son of Mr. & Mrs. Balasubramaniam of 160 Kandy Road, Chundikuli)* & **SRIJEYADEVI** *(daughter of Mr. & Mrs. Thillainayagam of "Gayathri", KKS Road, Chunnakam) on November 1 in Canada. 5 Lisa St., P.H.8, Brampton, Ont. L6T 4T4.*

RAJKUMAR *(son of Dr. & Mrs. K. Thiagarajah of 92 Windmill Hill Dr., Bletchley, Milton Keynes)* & **NIRMALA** *(daughter of Mr. & Mrs. K. Jeyasingham of 67 De Vere Gardens, Ilford, Essex) on October 25.*

VIVEKANANDAN *(son of Mr. & Mrs. V. Kathirithamby, 13 Nallur Cross Rd., Jaffna)* & **PRABAKARI** *(daughter of Mr. & Mrs. R. Pasupathipillai, 87, New Moor St., Trinco) on November 1 in London. 181 Torbay Rd., Harrow.*

ANTON MAXWELL, *son of Mr. and Mrs. V. P. Michael of 123 Lennard Road, Beckenham, Kent,* and **SHANTHA** *daughter of Mrs. N. Sangarapillai of 161 Cassiobury Drive, Watford, on October 18.*

MR. HAROLD ALAKESON



Mr. Alakeson recently appointed head of the Department of Accountancy and Administrative Studies at the South West London College, Garratt Lane, SW18, is the first person from overseas to hold such a job at this premier business college in the UK.

Mr. Alakeson graduated from the University of Ceylon in 1962 and after teaching at Jaffna College and working for the Ceylon Cement Corporation for 5 years and Brown's Group for a year, he came over to the UK in 1970 and rose steadily from a lecturer at South West London College to this position of great responsibility.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

CHUNDIKULI – ST. JOHNS OGA / OBA REUNION

The A.G.M., followed by dinner and disco, held on 10 October was a big success with over 200 attending. The principal officers for 1987/88 are as follows:-

Chairman: Mr. C. Sathiamoorthy;
Joint Secretaries: Mr. R.A. Samuel, *(131, Ewell by Pass, Epsom, Surrey KT17 2PX)* and Mrs. Siron Gnanamuttu *(28 Woodleigh Avenue, London, N12 0LL)*
Treasurer: Mrs. Padmini Jayarajah.

OBITUARY

GNANAMUTTU, Ruby, of 15, Boswell Place, Colombo 6, passed away at Durdan's Nursing Home, Colombo on 18 October. She was for many years on the staff of Muslim Ladies College, Colombo, where she taught English in the Higher Classes with great success. Ruby leaves behind three brothers, George, Sam and Victor, and three sisters, Regina, Mercy and Grace.

Mr. and Mrs. T. EDIRMANASINGHAM and their **24 year-old daughter** were shot and killed in their house in Urelu by the I.P.K.F. Mr. Edirmanasingham was the elder brother of Mr. T. Thuraisingham (Tom) of Colliers Wood, London SW19.

SINNADURAI, Mrs. Chellam, formerly of Nunavil West, Chavakachcheri, wife of late S. R. Sinnadurai, Retd. Head Teacher, mother of Sushila Amarasingham, S. J. Mahesan, and S. Vamadevan expired. Funeral 5 November. 34, Glenaber Place, Colombo 3.

Service of Thanksgiving

George Niranjan TISSAINAYAGAM

aged 19 years and second year student at Loughborough University died under tragic circumstances on October 15. He was a son of Dr. Jega and Premini Tissainayagam. A service of thanksgiving will be held at St. Barnabas' Church, Barnetby, South Humberside on 22 November, 1987 at 3 p.m.

OBITUARY

VINNASITHAMBY KANAGASINGHAM

(Retired Teacher, Parameshwara College, Jaffna).

Beloved husband of Sivapoopathy,

loving father of Dr. Nandhabalan and Dr. Nirmala,

father-in-law of Kalyani and Dr. Subanandan, all of U.K.,

passed away on the 20th September in London.

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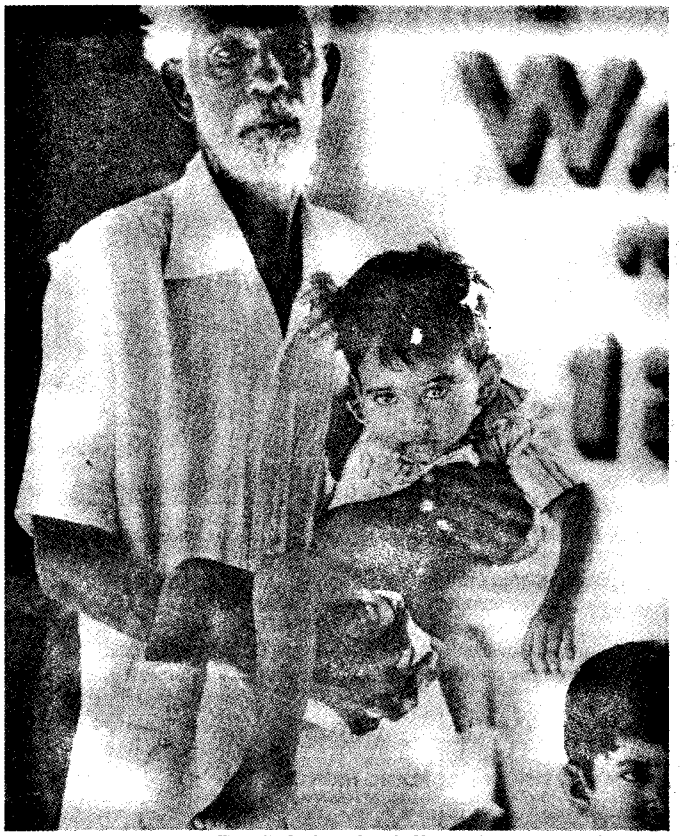

A people's hurt: A Tamil father in Jaffna tries to comfort his wounded child.

CHILD'S ANGUISH: A Tamil boy whose arm was amputated during an Indian attack on Jaffna.

JAFFNA – A City of Fear and Desolation

A historic landmark, the Jaffna Dutch Church built in 1706, damaged by shelling.

Civilians crowd into a boat seeking refuge.

Refugees taking shelter in an old church.

Tamil Families who say they were innocent victims of Indian shelling.

Tamil civilians fleeing the Jaffna peninsula.

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